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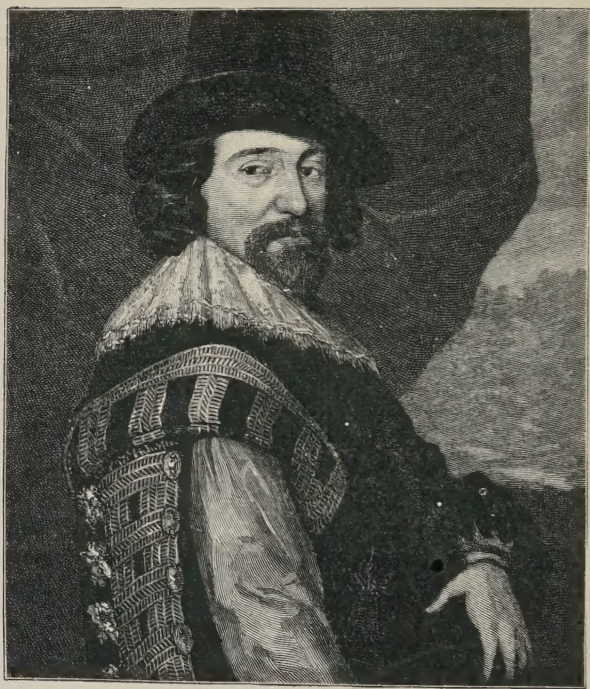
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FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN LORD CHANCELLOR

(From the National Portrait Gallery)

Longmans' British Classics

MACAULAY'S ESSAY
ON
BACON

EDITED BY

DAVID SALMON

PRINCIPAL OF SWANSEA TRAINING COLLEGE

AUTHOR OF 'THE ART OF TEACHING' 'LONGMANS' SCHOOL GRAMMAR

'LONGMANS' SCHOOL COMPOSITION' ETC.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

WE may apply ourselves to the careful reading of a great piece of literature for various reasons. The best reason is that it gives us pleasure. The next best reason is in order that we may understand it well by seeing it finally as nearly as possible as the author saw it, endeavouring to realise the work as it left his hands and became what he meant it to be. We may read also merely to get information, without regard to the plan of the work as a whole; or perhaps because we feel a general interest in the author or in the times in which he lived or which he celebrated.

We may read Macaulay for all these reasons. He is pleasant to read; his writings have a certain general aim or unity which we can detect, and great qualities of style which we can distinguish; that is, they are significant, illuminate for us and bring home to us a multitude of important things both directly and indirectly. Macaulay's work deserves most careful study not only because he has been admitted by common consent to the company of great writers and has thus become a 'classic,' but also because he was a great historian, a famous Englishman, and a good man. His life—his upbringing and experiences—had so much direct and traceable influence on the books which he wrote and the way in which he wrote them, that it will repay us to review its chief incidents.

He was born with the nineteenth century, and he stands as a singularly typical representative of most of the qualities that have made England and Englishmen conspicuous and successful during the last hundred years, together with some others which have probably attracted to us and ours much foreign dislike. His father's stock was Scotch Presbyterian and his mother's family were Quakers. He was therefore committed, as it were, from his earliest years to such political and social views as we find expressed in the acts and history of the Whig party of the State, though the Low Church views of his father and his father's parliamentary friends drove them into alliance with the Tories. His father spent health and fortune in the struggle to secure the abolition of slavery and the prosperity of liberated slaves, so the son was naturally predisposed to take a magnanimous view of public duty.

But on the other hand the elder Macaulay had personally suffered at the hands of the French in Sierra Leone when he was acting as Governor of a colony of liberated slaves. 'Republicanism,' as understood by the French, had thus no pleasant associations for the father, and the son grew up with a healthy and hearty belief in the excellence of the institutions of his own country and in its great destinies. It was not for nothing that he was born on October 25, the anniversary of Agincourt.

His mother was a serene-spirited woman, devoted to her children, and above all permitting nothing that duty demanded to be shirked because it was disagreeable; hence personal unselfishness and a high sense of public and private duty grew with Thomas Macaulay's growth, and were never found wanting in his character.

Macaulay the child was, indeed, not so much the father of Macaulay the man, as the man in outline; the outline only wanted filling in. He seems almost to have been born with

aptitudes and habits for which later years merely provided material. Thus, from the very early age of *three* 'he read incessantly'; he projected a Compendium of Universal History when he was *seven*; and two cantos of an epic poem begun about the same time are still in existence.

At first he went daily to a school in Clapham, near his home; but when he was twelve, he was sent to a private boarding school at Little Shelford, near Cambridge. He thus missed the public-school training more usual with boys of his class, and he was 'never like other boys' (as an old friend said of him) in certain important respects that coloured all his life. He was not given to athleticism of any sort, his studiousness was encouraged, and he got time for that endless miscellaneous reading, particularly in fiction and poetry, which helped to form his unconventional panoramic style, and to enrich, perhaps overload, his writings with endless illustrations which he assumed to be familiar to any boy of fourteen years of age.

Mr. Preston, Macaulay's schoolmaster, was a very capable scholar and clergyman who held evangelical views; and thus Macaulay, though he made no parade of religious opinions, was strengthened in a bias, derived from home influences, against the views, and as a consequence against the historical position, of the High Church party. At Mr. Preston's table, too, he often met Cambridge scholars of eminence, and this both stimulated his ambitions and fostered the precocious gravity of his habits of thought. Moreover, when he went home he found his father's house frequented by members of Parliament all intent on public issues of the highest moment, and he learnt there the first lesson of true patriotism and patriotic statesmanship. All through his life Macaulay looked at public questions first and mainly as a genuine lover of his country; he was incapable of thinking meanly or selfishly on any question, and

least of all on a question affecting the honour, prosperity, or effective strength of England.

In 1818 he went into residence as a 'pensioner'¹ at Trinity College, Cambridge. Here, again, his special proclivities, his weaknesses and his strength, received impetus from the conditions in which he found himself. Having developed a profound dislike for mathematics, he plunged into Latin and Greek classics, studied for 'style' rather than subject matter. He missed the corrective discipline and the larger outlook which he might have got from the philosophical studies common at Oxford. This circumstance profoundly affected his views of life, his power as a critic, his outfit and insight as an historian. For, whatever copiousness and picturesqueness it may have given to his style, this exclusive devotion to oratory, to poetry, and to history written with small sense of its character as material for judicial weighing of evidence, left him all his life intolerant of the speculation which is the highest form of criticism, and unwilling to face the most serious problems involved in his work and vital to its thorough handling. Theories or ideas seem often to have presented themselves to him as either useless or, if put to use, revolutionary; he became honestly a reformer, but had little sympathy with the mere overturning of institutions on abstract grounds.

The direct incitement to him to write history came soon after he had taken his degree, when he won a College prize for an essay on the conduct and character of William III. It seems extremely probable that the thought which he gave to this subject fixed his attention for the first time on the great king who figures so prominently in the famous work of his maturer life; and so far as can be judged from fragments of the essay, Macaulay's style as well as his

¹ 'Pensioners' at Cambridge were what 'commoners' were at Oxford, ordinary undergraduates, not 'on the foundation.'

political preferences was already in the main what it continued to be to the end of his days.

He took two or three pupils and had no great dislike for teaching, but it is difficult to believe that any mortal pupils could have satisfied Macaulay, either in pace or proficiency. It is not therefore surprising that on gaining a fellowship, which gave him comparative independence for seven years, he determined to go to the Bar. But he never took kindly to the law, though the Indian Penal Code which he helped to compile at a later period entitles him to the honour due to a great jurist. In 1824 he made his first appearance at a great public gathering, a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, in which he displayed high oratorical talent which was at once recognised. He had begun to write in *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, and in 1825 appeared his *Edinburgh Review* essay on Milton, which made him famous at a stroke, and was the first of many contributions that added at once to the fame of the writer and the authority and distinction of the periodical. In 1828 Lord Lyndhurst made him a Commissioner in Bankruptcy, under circumstances which implied no sort of political bargain or obligation; and the same nobleman nominated him to a seat in Parliament two years after. He thus entered on political life at a most interesting and critical time, a time when a man of strong sense and balance and an enlightened love of progress could not fail to join right heartily in the fray. No one now doubts the inevitability and the reasonableness of the parliamentary reforms demanded when George IV. died and William succeeded him, and it was Macaulay's happy fortune to show himself a great speaker on the side that was right and the side that won. But this triumphant incursion into politics gave once for all a practical bias to Macaulay's way of looking at things, shut him off for ever from that philosophical contemplativeness which enables strong

thinkers to recognise and realise a greater sweep of natural forces than those who deal with social and political problems at closer quarters.

It might perhaps be fairly said that this went naturally with Macaulay's profound disinclination to think a thing out. He could not even take a walk without a book open in his hand to be read in his perambulations. A problem of any sort presented to him at once assumed a concrete and pictorial character, with the circumstance and combinations and illustrations of a chapter of real life ; and thus, though he called Burke with cordial admiration the greatest man since Milton, he seems to have been quite incapable of penetrating, as that supreme political philosopher penetrated, beneath the surface and picturesque aspect of things, and of seeing the great forces that determined the succession of events as they passed before his eyes. All men who are immersed in affairs, ' practical men ' as they are called, are liable to disdain or to suspect the ' long views ' which may often be the correct views ; yet such men may fairly claim that they are liable to make fewer mistakes about what is expedient than are those who do not feel themselves so immediately responsible for the conduct of pressing everyday business. Looking therefore at Macaulay's career as an administrator or as a politician, it is not easy for the least friendly of his critics to put a finger on a weak place.

But when his works are examined as history, the tale is somewhat different. The sound judgment of the man of affairs is a combination of large knowledge of existing circumstances and of tact and sympathy with all their subtle and complicated influences ; and as to all this Macaulay was well equipped. But the historian has to create an atmosphere about himself, if he can, by a laborious accumulation of information ; he never has all the details he would like to have ; he can never realise, as a contem.

porary might, the influences necessary to interpret the real meaning of a series of events. And so, if he looks at events as pictures, he is especially liable to misinterpret their meaning as parts of a system of great forces operating over a large area.

It is in this respect that Macaulay is found lacking; he interprets statesmen and events of a former period with the same assurance as he would feel if he were interpreting the men and things about him. But whereas in the latter case his sound judgment was based on the multitude of unperceived and even obscure circumstances which moved and guided his alert intelligence, in the former he trusted too much to picturesque impressions which, though extraordinarily full of details, were yet not enough to justify all his conclusions; so his failure here may be safely attributed to two chief facts: his lack of philosophic habit and grasp, and his immersion and early interest in affairs.

In 1832 Macaulay was elected M.P. for Leeds, and was soon made Commissioner and subsequently Secretary of the Board of Control, which represented the Crown in relation to the Directors of the East India Company. Thus began a connexion with India and an interest in its affairs and history to which we owe some of his finest work. In the very next year he was made a member of the Supreme Council of India, a post which he accepted partly to escape contests of parliamentary faction, in which he was being unwillingly involved, and partly because it offered him a salary during his tenure of office sufficient to provide him with a modest competency for life. He felt that politics was a profession safe for those only who were well off as well as honourable. In 1834 therefore he set sail for India. He lost no time during the voyage—even in thinking; for he read incessantly 'Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French and English; folios, quartos, octavos, duodecimos.'

In Calcutta he did great work. He already had plenty before him as a Member of Council, but he undertook quite voluntarily the presidency of two important Committees, that of Public Instruction and that appointed to draw up a new Penal Code and a new Code of Criminal Procedure, which produced work of enduring and enormous importance to India. He returned to England in 1838 and at once resumed his regular connection with the *Edinburgh Review* by his admirable essay on Sir William Temple. He soon began to think of laying the foundations of his great English History, to start from the Revolution and to end with the death of George IV., though he was not permitted to address himself to his task without another endeavour on the part of his political friends to entangle him in public life.

Meantime, wherever Macaulay went, the genius of the place seems to have entered into him and stimulated him to celebrate it. Thus when in the October after his return to Europe he visited Italy, its great names and associations gave him the impulse for his essay on the history of the Popes and his more famous 'Lays.' In February 1839 he was in England again, and reviewing Mr. Gladstone's work on 'Church and State.' But soon after we find him member of Parliament for Edinburgh and Secretary of State in the rather delicate Cabinet of Lord Melbourne. Lord Melbourne's government did not last long, but before it expired Macaulay achieved a singularly appropriate triumph; his action and speeches practically settling the law of copyright as we have it in England now. Property in a book rests with the writer or his representatives for forty-two years or till seven years after his death, whichever is the longer period, a compromise being thus effected between a man's right to the fruits of his own work and the public interest in the diffusion of literature. It is worth while to remember that this measure came from a great man of letters.

In the general election of 1847 Macaulay lost his seat at Edinburgh, and he straightway set about his great History by 'the honest humble previous toil,' proofs of which Thackeray saw in the most brilliant work of his friend. Macaulay had all his life been accumulating materials, and he had a memory of unapproachable strength; but he now visited sites, made special investigations, and, as his biographer says, 'expended on the pointing of a phrase as much conscientious research as would have provided some writers, who speak of Macaulay as showy and shallow, with at least half a dozen pages of ostentatious statistics.' He sat in Parliament for a short time again as member for Edinburgh, but a serious illness in 1852 determined him finally and for ever to husband his strength for the work he loved best, and he managed to complete his fifth volume before he died in 1859. He had not confined himself entirely to his History during the progress of that enterprise, but from time to time contributed to periodical literature essays and reviews which have taken their places amongst the very best of their time and kind.

We are engaged here not in a biography of Macaulay, but in setting forth just so much of his life as it is necessary to know in order to understand his literary origins and position. But it is impossible to part from him without feeling that he was not only one of the most accomplished writers and fascinating personages of his day, but one of the most lovable, honourable, and magnanimous of men.

It remains to examine, if only briefly, with particular reference to the famous Essays, the qualities of style which made Macaulay so conspicuous amongst his contemporaries, so fascinating as a model, and so influential as a teacher.

The main object of all judgment or criticism, historical or other, is, as we are taught, to see things as they are or were.

Macaulay's way of seeing things, and the past especially, was as pictures; history to him was a diorama; personages and events passed before his eyes as in life. On any subject that presented itself his memory and wit began to play without stimulus or break; that is why he was such a famous 'talker.' His was not the 'dramatic' faculty of the great playwright. Shakespeare, to take the supreme instance, saw the working of contending passions rather than the picturesque setting of incidents; his work is more 'abstract,' more independent of place and time, more representative of what is universally true, than the work of the historian-artist. In a drama, picturesque incident is less important than thought and reflection.

Macaulay has often been reproached because he was content with the many pictures and incidents that revealed themselves to him, and did not go behind them in order to establish incontestably every circumstance associated with them or in order to ascertain great laws of development, defining the forces of which incidents and events were manifestations. To this it may be fairly answered that there are more ways than one of writing history. Macaulay's way, though not fruitful in discovery, was of incalculable value in making a past age and a vanished society live again for many thousands of us who would otherwise have been incapable of lively sympathy with either present or past. With his inexhaustible stores, matchless memory, and fine feeling for effect, he gave us history in fine perspective. His picturesque narrative and his frequent use of rhetorical figures based on contrast carry conviction to us. We seem to see and understand. He did not indeed think very highly of some historical novels, as history; but it is not to be forgotten that he himself had an insatiable appetite for fiction and picturesque poetry. He wrote history as if, perhaps, it were a romance; but if he was sometimes wrong, he was

generally, and in essentials, right. Some things he no doubt failed to *analyse* accurately, but he *built* with extraordinary power. He was one of the best tellers of true stories that ever lived.

An analysis of either the whole or the parts of most of his works shows that, whether he so designed them or not, each is in perfect proportion, and that nothing is left out; indeed this is so true that he has been accused of 'labouring at the obvious,' leaving nothing to the imagination of his readers. He was formally thanked by a society of working-men for having written a History that 'working-men could understand.'

The picture-like quality of Macaulay's views of things directly affects the mechanism of his style. A well-composed picture has nothing superfluous in it; every detail contributes to the general effect. There is thus an economy in literary as there is in pictorial art. Macaulay is usually a model of compression, and when presumptuous folk think they are successfully imitating Macaulay by merely laying on splashes of colour—local or other—without regard to the balance or composition of their materials, they might well remember what Macaulay said himself of such efforts. 'I am a very unsafe model. My manner is, I think, and the world thinks, on the whole a good one; but it is very near to a very bad manner indeed, and those characteristics of my style which are most easily copied are the most questionable.' He never introduces an allusion or illustration, as Defoe might have done, merely to impose on the reader with a false air of reality. If he was infinitely careful, even to the choice of a single word, his object was to make his work truly significant of what he meant to say. Indeed, this very endeavour to save his readers trouble, the absence of suggestiveness and reserve in his style, is often a real defect. The best of all writing is not that which satisfies people, but that which sets them thinking.

Macaulay, again, was often over-emphatic. This was the fault of his oratorical method, 'the skill with which he has imparted to written language a large portion of the swing and rush of spoken oratory,' as Mr. Cotter Morison has said. But perpetual oratory tires. The excessive use of antithesis, asyndeton, and other similar devices for arresting and retaining attention at last defeats its own end; however honest the writer may be, the critical reader begins to suspect him. Indeed, we shall understand Macaulay and his manner best, if we remember that his purpose was always less to inform than to persuade, though persuade honestly. He was always profoundly convinced of the correctness of his own view, and deeply anxious, even to the extent of becoming strident and over-emphatic, that every one else should agree with him. So he readily wins over the uncritical, while in the more censorious he rouses opposition. He may be said truly to write 'at the top of his voice.'

The student will do well to analyse a few striking passages to see if he can detect Macaulay's power of 'composition,' in the pictorial sense; the economy and lucidity of his best style; the mechanism of his rhetoric, and his use of common rhetorical devices; the regularity and curtness of his sentences, 'snip-snap' as Lord Brougham called it; his frequent over-emphasis and lack of reserve. But the student should do none of these things until he has familiarised himself with the whole of the essay which he is studying. He should see it first as a completed work, as the author left it, before he begins to analyse it and to try to discover the artifice of its details and the springs of its effectiveness.

The Life of Macaulay, by his nephew Sir George Trevelyan, is one of the best biographies in English. This should be read, together with Mr. J. Cotter Morison's Life in the 'English Men of Letters' series, and Mr. Walter Bagehot in vol. ii. of 'Literary Studies.'

THE ESSAY ON BACON

IN a letter to the editor of the *Edinburgh Review* Macaulay says, 'There are extensive classes of subjects which I think myself able to treat as few people can treat them. . . . I have written several things on historical, political, and moral questions of which, on the fullest reconsideration, I am not ashamed, and by which I should be willing to be estimated.'¹ As the letter is dated nineteen months after the composition of the article on Bacon, and Macaulay had never bestowed so much care on anything that he had written as on that article,² we may fairly infer that he included it among his happy efforts. If he did, his predilection is not shared by posterity. The Bacon is the longest, as it is the least successful of the Essays.

It is the least successful partly because it is the longest. It is weakened by what Falstaff would call 'damnable iteration,' by digression after digression, by digression within digression, by elaborate demonstrations of propositions which no man with sense would deny, and more elaborate demonstrations of propositions which no man with knowledge would admit. It is not surprising therefore that Macaulay should be so late in reaching the end when he succumbs so often to temptations to leave the direct road.

¹ Trevelyan's *Life*, 342.

² *Id.*, 327.

The Essay is divided into two sections, the first (pp. 1-89) having the life, and the second (pp. 89-139) the writings, as chief subject, and if anything could exceed the exaggeration of the faults of Bacon's life in the first, it is the misrepresentation of the aims and results of his writings in the second.

Macaulay had undertaken a task for which his mental constitution unfitted him. He was as richly endowed with historic, as he was poorly endowed with dramatic imagination. He had rare skill in marshalling the incidents of a story and in painting vivid pictures of the past, but he had little power of entering into the thoughts and motives of a complex character. Instead of trying to reconcile the apparent contradictions of such a character he emphasised them, thus pleasing those who like high colouring but making the judicious grieve. Like Dryden's Zimri he was

So very violent or very civil
That every man with him was god or devil.

Macaulay's method did very well for one whose business is epigram—like Pope, who wrote

If parts allure thee think how Bacon shined,
The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind.

Here we feel that for Pope a dozen names would do as well as Bacon's—Voltaire's for instance—if only it were accented on the first syllable. But the business of the historian is truth, not epigram.

Macaulay, besides lacking the insight necessary to the understanding of a complex character, lacked impartiality. He was bound to take a side, and that side was always dazzling white, while the other was always unrelieved black. His mind was an advocate's, not a judge's. Instead of examining all the facts and weighing all the arguments,

and then arriving at a conclusion, weak in proportion as the facts and arguments were mutually destructive, he began with a strong conclusion and proceeded to state the reasons for it, ignoring or flouting the rest. If he had chosen the wrong conclusion to start with, the greater the dialectic skill with which he arrayed the resources placed at his disposal by his vast reading and marvellous memory, the farther did he go astray from truth.

A kindred defect to partiality was dogmatism. It was natural that a man who honestly thought his side entirely right and the other side entirely wrong should express himself strongly. Sydney Smith wished that he could be as sure of one thing as Macaulay was of everything.

Macaulay's mental deficiencies are strikingly illustrated in his treatment both of Montagu and of Bacon. I had read the *Essay* long before I read the *Life* reviewed, and I inferred that Montagu offered a halfpennyworth of biography to an intolerable deal of whitewash. The reverse is the case. Montagu presents the facts fully, and the apology briefly and modestly. Macaulay takes pages to controvert views which Montagu took only lines to express, and leaves on the reader of both the impression of a disputant trying to shout down his opponent.

Macaulay reproaches Montagu for his un-Baconian method of defending Bacon, but Macaulay's method of attacking Bacon is more un-Baconian. We may perhaps grant that Montagu decided the fruit to be good because the tree was good, but we must grant that Macaulay decided the fruit to be bad because the tree was bad. Macaulay's sense of honour was keen, and his standard of veracity was high, but his prejudices rendered him unconsciously exceedingly unfair. He misrepresents Montagu's contentions; he derives all the facts for the *Essay* from the *Life*, but if a story creditable to Bacon is told in the text and

another less creditable and resting on no authority is told in the footnotes, he disregards the first and accepts the second as gospel; when making a direct quotation he omits a sentence which is unfavourable to his case; when making an indirect quotation he paraphrases and thus gives the words a tinge which the original did not bear.

Macaulay denies to Bacon the benefit of excuses which he himself tenders for others. When speaking of the statesmen who, during the reign of Mary, 'had contrived to have business on the continent, or if they stayed in England' had 'heard mass and kept Lent with great decorum,' and who intrigued with James while professing undivided loyalty to Elizabeth, he says 'It is impossible to deny that they committed many acts which would justly bring on a statesman of our day censures of the most serious kind, but,' he adds with perfect equity, 'when we consider the state of morality in their age and the unscrupulous character of the adversaries against whom they had to contend, we are forced to admit that it is not without reason that their names are still held in veneration by their countrymen.' Still, when he comes to deal with the faults of Bacon (many of them, in Bacon's own words, *vitia temporis* and not *vitia hominis*) he will make no allowance; the offences of the sixteenth century must be measured by the standard of the nineteenth. Hence, when as prosecuting counsel he should have been content with the French finding of 'guilty, with extenuating circumstances,' he presses for an unqualified verdict and a rigorous sentence.

This is strikingly illustrated in the case of Peacham. That unfortunate ecclesiastic appears to have been a bit of a fool and a good deal of a liar, and his innocence of the charges brought against him is doubtful; but he did not necessarily deserve the rack because he did not deserve admiration. Macaulay, therefore, did well to be angry, but

the vials of even righteous wrath should not be poured on the wrong head. He speaks of Bacon's being employed to torture the prisoner (p. 49, l. 9) and going to the Tower to listen to his yells (p. 52, l. 24). This is a gross injustice, and it is hard to understand how so honourable a man as Macaulay could have perpetrated it knowing all the facts, while it is equally hard to understand how so omniscient a man as Macaulay could have perpetrated it without knowing them.

Bacon had no more to do with the arrest of Peacham, with the formulation of the charges, with his preliminary examination, with his committal to the Tower, or with the order for his torture, than with the casting of the prophet Daniel into the lions' den. Macaulay has not a word of indignation for the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer, and the other high and mighty persons who signed the warrant for the torture; he reserves his reproaches for a subordinate law-officer who was bound to be present at it in the discharge of his official duties, and speaks of him in terms which could hardly have been stronger if Bacon had worked the rack with his own hands to gratify his lust of cruelty.

Other accusations made against Bacon in the first part of the Essay are discussed in the Notes, but I have rarely referred in them to the errors of the second part. I have thought it sufficient to give the student this general warning, that in the elaborate contrast which Macaulay institutes between modern science and ancient philosophy he misrepresents both. He asserts that the object of the one is, and assumes that the object of the other ought to have been, utility. The man of science is engaged, and the philosopher was engaged, in the pursuit of truth, not in the invention of machines; and the fact that the results achieved by the one can often be applied to machines while the results achieved

by the other could not, arises not from a difference in their aims, but from a difference in their materials.

The man of science is engaged in investigating the laws of physical nature, and does not concern himself with considering whether they can be made to add to human comfort or convenience. Some of them can not. What utilitarian purpose, for instance, is served by the triumphs of Newton or of Darwin? And the countless appliances which we owe to science are often invented not by the man who discovered the principle, but by some one else who has given it a mechanical shape.

The philosopher was engaged in ethical and metaphysical speculations, and the result of his discoveries would be, not useful contrivances but rules of conduct or views of life and destiny. To blame him for failing to introduce new crafts is equivalent to blaming Moses for presenting the Commandments written on tables of stone instead of teaching the art of printing on paper.

LORD BACON

(JULY, 1837)

The Works of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England. A new Edition. By BASIL MONTAGU, Esq. 16 vols. 8vo. London: 1825—1834.

WE return our hearty thanks to Mr. Montagu for this truly valuable work. From the opinions which he expresses as a biographer we often dissent. But about his merit as a collector of the materials out of which opinions are formed, there can be no dispute; and we readily acknowledge that we are in a great measure indebted to his minute and accurate researches for the means of refuting what we cannot but consider as his errors. 5

The labour which has been bestowed on this volume has been a labour of love. The writer is evidently enamoured of the subject. It fills his heart. It constantly overflows from his lips and his pen. Those who are acquainted with the Courts in which Mr. Montagu practises with so much ability and success well know how often he enlivens the discussion of a point of law by citing some weighty aphorism, or some brilliant illustration, from the *De Augmentis* or the *Novum Organum*. The Life before us doubtless owes much of its value to the honest and generous enthusiasm of the writer. This feeling has stimulated his activity, has sustained his perseverance, has called forth all his ingenuity and eloquence: but, on the other hand, we must frankly say that it has, to a great extent, perverted his judgment. 10 15 20

We are by no means without sympathy for Mr. Montagu

even in what we consider as his weakness. There is scarcely any delusion which has a better claim to be indulgently treated than that under the influence of which a man ascribes every moral excellence to those who have left imperishable monuments of their genius. The causes of this error lie deep in the inmost recesses of human nature. We are all inclined to judge of others as we find them. Our estimate of a character always depends much on the manner in which that character affects our own interests and passions. We find it difficult to think well of those by whom we are thwarted or depressed; and we are ready to admit every excuse for the vices of those who are useful or agreeable to us. This is, we believe, one of those illusions to which the whole human race is subject, and which experience and reflection can only partially remove. It is, in the phraseology of Bacon, one of the *idola tribus*. Hence it is that the moral character of a man eminent in letters or in the fine arts is treated, often by contemporaries, almost always by posterity, with extraordinary tenderness. The world derives pleasure and advantage from the performances of such a man. The number of those who suffer by his personal vices is small, even in his own time, when compared with the number of those to whom his talents are a source of gratification. In a few years all those whom he has injured disappear. But his works remain, and are a source of delight to millions. The genius of Sallust is still with us. But the Numidians whom he plundered, and the unfortunate husbands who caught him in their houses at unseasonable hours, are forgotten. We suffer ourselves to be delighted by the keenness of Clarendon's observation, and by the sober majesty of his style, till we forget the oppressor and the bigot in the historian. Falstaff and Tom Jones have survived the gamekeepers whom Shakspeare cudgelled and the landladies whom Fielding bilked. A great writer is the friend and benefactor of his readers; and they cannot but judge of him under the deluding influence of friendship and gratitude. We all know how unwilling we are to admit the

truth of any disgraceful story about a person whose society we like, and from whom we have received favours ; how long we struggle against evidence, how fondly, when the facts cannot be disputed, we cling to the hope that there may be some explanation or some extenuating circumstance with which we are unacquainted. Just such is the feeling which a man of liberal education naturally entertains towards the great minds of former ages. The debt which he owes to them is incalculable. They have guided him to truth. They have filled his mind with noble and graceful images. They have stood by him in all vicissitudes, comforters in sorrow, nurses in sickness, companions in solitude. These friendships are exposed to no danger from the occurrences by which other attachments are weakened or dissolved. Time glides on ; fortune is inconstant ; tempers are soured ; bonds which seemed indissoluble are daily sundered by interest, by emulation, or by caprice. But no such cause can affect the silent converse which we hold with the highest of human intellects. That placid intercourse is disturbed by no jealousies or resentments. These are the old friends who are never seen with new faces, who are the same in wealth and in poverty, in glory and in obscurity. With the dead there is no rivalry. In the dead there is no change. Plato is never sullen. Cervantes is never petulant. Demosthenes never comes unseasonably. Dante never stays too long. No difference of political opinion can alienate Cicero. No heresy can excite the horror of Bossuet.

Nothing, then, can be more natural than that a person endowed with sensibility and imagination should entertain a respectful and affectionate feeling towards those great men with whose minds he holds daily communion. Yet nothing can be more certain than that such men have not always deserved to be regarded with respect or affection. Some writers, whose works will continue to instruct and delight mankind to the remotest ages, have been placed in such situations that their actions and motives are as well known to us as the actions and motives of one human being can be

known to another; and unhappily their conduct has not always been such as an impartial judge can contemplate with approbation. But the fanaticism of the devout worshipper of genius is proof against all evidence and all argument. The character of his idol is matter of faith; and the province of faith is not to be invaded by reason. He maintains his superstition with a credulity as boundless, and a zeal as unscrupulous as can be found in the most ardent partisans of religious or political factions. The most decisive proofs are rejected; the plainest rules of morality are explained away; extensive and important portions of history are completely distorted. The enthusiast misrepresents facts with all the effrontery of an advocate, and confounds right and wrong with all the dexterity of a Jesuit; and all this only in order that some man who has been in his grave during many ages may have a fairer character than he deserves.

Middleton's Life of Cicero is a striking instance of the influence of this sort of partiality. Never was there a character which it was easier to read than that of Cicero. Never was there a mind keener or more critical than that of Middleton. Had the biographer brought to the examination of his favourite statesman's conduct but a very small part of the acuteness and severity which he displayed when he was engaged in investigating the high pretensions of Epiphanius and Justin Martyr, he could not have failed to produce a most valuable history of a most interesting portion of time. But this most ingenious and learned man, though

‘ So wary held and wise
That, as ’twas said, he scarce received
For gospel what the church believed,’

had a superstition of his own. The great Iconoclast was himself an idolater. The great *Avvocato del Diavolo*, while he disputed, with no small ability, the claims of Cyprian and Athanasius to a place in the Calendar, was himself composing a lying legend in honour of St. Tully. He was holding up as a model of every virtue a man whose talents and

acquirements, indeed, can never be too highly extolled, and who was by no means destitute of amiable qualities, but whose whole soul was under the dominion of a girlish vanity and a craven fear. Actions for which Cicero himself, the most eloquent and skilful of advocates, could contrive no excuse, actions which in his confidential correspondence he mentioned with remorse and shame, are represented by his biographer as wise, virtuous, heroic. The whole history of that great revolution which overthrew the Roman aristocracy, the whole state of parties, the character of every public man, is elaborately misrepresented, in order to make out something which may look like a defence of one most eloquent and accomplished trimmer. 5 10

The volume before us reminds us now and then of the Life of Cicero. But there is this marked difference. Dr. Middleton evidently had an uneasy consciousness of the weakness of his cause, and therefore resorted to the most disingenuous shifts, to unpardonable distortions and suppressions of facts. Mr. Montagu's faith is sincere and implicit. He practises no trickery. He conceals nothing. He puts the facts before us in the full confidence that they will produce on our minds the effect which they have produced on his own. It is not till he comes to reason from facts to motives that his partiality shows itself; and then he leaves Middleton himself far behind. His work proceeds on the assumption that Bacon was an eminently virtuous man. From the tree Mr. Montagu judges of the fruit. He is forced to relate many actions which if any man but Bacon had committed them, nobody would have dreamed of defending,—actions which are readily and completely explained by supposing Bacon to have been a man whose principles were not strict, and whose spirit was not high,—actions which can be explained in no other way without resorting to some grotesque hypothesis for which there is not a tittle of evidence. But any hypothesis is, in Mr. Montagu's opinion, more probable than that his hero should ever have done anything very wrong. 15 20 25 30 35

This mode of defending Bacon seems to us by no means Baconian. To take a man's character for granted, and then from his character to infer the moral quality of all his actions, is surely a process the very reverse of that which is recommended in the *Novum Organum*. Nothing, we are sure, could have led Mr. Montagu to depart so far from his master's precepts except zeal for his master's honour. We shall follow a different course. We shall attempt, with the valuable assistance which Mr. Montagu has afforded us, to frame such an account of Bacon's life as may enable our readers correctly to estimate his character.

It is hardly necessary to say that Francis Bacon was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who held the great seal of England during the first twenty years of the reign of Elizabeth. The fame of the father has been thrown into shade by that of the son. But Sir Nicholas was no ordinary man. He belonged to a set of men whom it is easier to describe collectively than separately, whose minds were formed by one system of discipline, who belonged to one rank in society, to one university, to one party, to one sect, to one administration, and who resembled each other so much in talents, in opinions, in habits, in fortunes, that one character, we had almost said one life, may, to a considerable extent, serve for them all.

They were the first generation of statesmen by profession that England produced. Before their time the division of labour had, in this respect, been very imperfect. Those who had directed public affairs had been, with few exceptions, warriors or priests: warriors whose rude courage was neither guided by science nor softened by humanity; priests whose learning and abilities were habitually devoted to the defence of tyranny and imposture. The Hotspurs, the Nevilles, the Cliffords, rough, illiterate, and unreflecting, brought to the council-board the fierce and imperious disposition which they had acquired amidst the tumult of predatory war, or in the gloomy repose of the garrisoned and moated castle. On the other side was the calm and subtle

prelate, versed in all that was then considered as learning, trained in the Schools to manage words, and in the confessional to manage hearts; seldom superstitious, but skilful in practising on the superstition of others; false, as it was natural that a man should be whose profession imposed on all who were not saints the necessity of being hypocrites; selfish, as it was natural that a man should be who could form no domestic ties and cherish no hope of legitimate posterity; more attached to his order than to his country, and guiding the politics of England with a constant side-glance at Rome. 5 10

But the increase of wealth, the progress of knowledge, and the reformation of religion, produced a great change. The nobles ceased to be military chieftains; the priests ceased to possess a monopoly of learning; and a new and remarkable species of politicians appeared. 15

These men came from neither of the classes which had, till then, almost exclusively furnished ministers of state. They were all laymen; yet they were all men of learning; and they were all men of peace. They were not members of the aristocracy. They inherited no titles, no large domains, no armies of retainers, no fortified castles. Yet they were not low men, such as those whom princes, jealous of the power of a nobility, have sometimes raised from forges and cobblers' stalls to the highest situations. They were all gentlemen by birth. They had all received a liberal education. It is a remarkable fact that they were all members of the same university. The two great national seats of learning had even then acquired the characters which they still retain. In intellectual activity, and in readiness to admit improvements, the superiority was then, as it has ever since been, on the side of the less ancient and splendid institution. Cambridge had the honour of educating those celebrated Protestant Bishops whom Oxford had the honour of burning; and at Cambridge were formed the minds of all those statesmen to whom chiefly is to be attributed the secure establishment of the reformed religion in the north of Europe. 20 25 30 35

The statesmen of whom we speak passed their youth surrounded by the incessant din of theological controversy. Opinions were still in a state of chaotic anarchy, intermingling, separating, advancing, receding. Sometimes the stubborn bigotry of the Conservatives seemed likely to prevail. Then the impetuous onset of the Reformers for a moment carried all before it. Then again the resisting mass made a desperate stand, arrested the movement, and forced it slowly back. The vacillation which at that time appeared in English legislation, and which it has been the fashion to attribute to the caprice and to the power of one or two individuals, was truly a national vacillation. It was not only in the mind of Henry that the new theology obtained the ascendant one day, and that the lessons of the nurse and of the priest regained their influence on the morrow. It was not only in the House of Tudor that the husband was exasperated by the opposition of the wife, that the son dissented from the opinions of the father, that the brother persecuted the sister, that one sister persecuted another. The principles of Conservation and Reform carried on their warfare in every part of society, in every congregation, in every school of learning, round the hearth of every private family, in the recesses of every reflecting mind.

It was in the midst of this ferment that the minds of the persons whom we are describing were developed. They were born Reformers. They belonged by nature to that order of men who always form the front ranks in the great intellectual progress. They were, therefore, one and all, Protestants. In religious matters, however, though there is no reason to doubt that they were sincere, they were by no means zealous. None of them chose to run the smallest personal risk during the reign of Mary. None of them favoured the unhappy attempt of Northumberland in favour of his daughter-in-law. None of them shared in the desperate councils of Wyatt. They contrived to have business on the Continent ; or if they stayed in England, they heard mass and kept Lent with great decorum. When those dark and

perilous years had gone by, and when the crown had descended to a new sovereign, they took the lead in the reformation of the Church. But they proceeded, not with the impetuosity of theologians, but with the calm determination of statesmen. They acted, not like men who considered the Romish worship as a system too offensive to God, and too destructive of souls to be tolerated for an hour, but like men who regarded the points in dispute among Christians as in themselves unimportant, and who were not restrained by any scruple of conscience from professing, as they had before professed, the Catholic faith of Mary, the Protestant faith of Edward, or any of the numerous intermediate combinations which the caprice of Henry and the servile policy of Cranmer had formed out of the doctrines of both the hostile parties. They took a deliberate view of the state of their own country and of the Continent: they satisfied themselves as to the leaning of the public mind; and they chose their side. They placed themselves at the head of the Protestants of Europe, and staked all their fame and fortunes on the success of their party.

It is needless to relate how dexterously, how resolutely, how gloriously they directed the politics of England during the eventful years which followed, how they succeeded in uniting their friends and separating their enemies, how they humbled the pride of Philip, how they backed the unconquerable spirit of Coligni, how they rescued Holland from tyranny, how they founded the maritime greatness of their country, how they outwitted the artful politicians of Italy, and tamed the ferocious chieftains of Scotland. It is impossible to deny that they committed many acts which would justly bring on a statesman of our time censures of the most serious kind. But, when we consider the state of morality in their age, and the unscrupulous character of the adversaries against whom they had to contend, we are forced to admit that it is not without reason that their names are still held in veneration by their countrymen.

There were, doubtless, many diversities in their intellec-

tual and moral character. But there was a strong family likeness. The constitution of their minds was remarkably sound. No particular faculty was pre-eminently developed ; but manly health and vigour were equally diffused through
5 the whole. They were men of letters. Their minds were by nature and by exercise well fashioned for speculative pursuits. It was by circumstances, rather than by any strong bias of inclination, that they were led to take a prominent part in active life. In active life, however, no men
10 could be more perfectly free from the faults of mere theorists and pedants. No men observed more accurately the signs of the times. No men had a greater practical acquaintance with human nature. Their policy was generally characterised rather by vigilance, by moderation, and by firmness,
15 than by invention, or by the spirit of enterprise.

They spoke and wrote in a manner worthy of their excellent sense. Their eloquence was less copious and less ingenious, but far purer and more manly than that of the succeeding generation. It was the eloquence of men who
20 had lived with the first translators of the Bible, and with the authors of the Book of Common Prayer. It was luminous, dignified, solid, and very slightly tainted with that affectation which deformed the style of the ablest men of the next age. If, as sometimes chanced, these politicians were under the
25 necessity of taking a part in the theological controversies on which the dearest interests of kingdoms were then staked, they acquitted themselves as if their whole lives had been passed in the Schools and the Convocation.

There was something in the temper of these celebrated
30 men which secured them against the proverbial inconstancy both of the court and of the multitude. No intrigue, no combination of rivals, could deprive them of the confidence of their Sovereign. No parliament attacked their influence. No mob coupled their names with any odious grievance.
35 Their power ended only with their lives. In this respect, their fate presents a most remarkable contrast to that of the enterprising and brilliant politicians of the preceding and of

the succeeding generation. Burleigh was Minister during forty years. Sir Nicholas Bacon held the great seal more than twenty years. Sir Walter Mildmay was Chancellor of the Exchequer twenty-three years. Sir Thomas Smith was Secretary of State eighteen years ; Sir Francis Walsingham 5 about as long. They all died in office, and in the enjoyment of public respect and royal favour. Far different had been the fate of Wolsey, Cromwell, Norfolk, Somerset, and Northumberland. Far different also was the fate of Essex, of Raleigh, and of the still more illustrious man whose life 10 we propose to consider.

The explanation of this circumstance is perhaps contained in the motto which Sir Nicholas Bacon inscribed over the entrance of his hall at Gorhambury, *Mediocria firma*. This maxim was constantly borne in mind by himself and his 15 colleagues. They were more solicitous to lay the foundations of their power deep than to raise the structure to a conspicuous but insecure height. None of them aspired to be sole Minister. None of them provoked envy by an ostentatious display of wealth and influence. None of them 20 affected to outshine the ancient aristocracy of the kingdom. They were free from that childish love of titles which characterised the successful courtiers of the generation which preceded them, and of that which followed them. Only one of those whom we have named was made a peer ; 25 and he was content with the lowest degree of the peerage. As to money, none of them could, in that age, justly be considered as rapacious. Some of them would, even in our time, deserve the praise of eminent disinterestedness. Their fidelity to the State was incorruptible. Their private morals 30 were without stain. Their households were sober and well-governed.

Among these statesmen Sir Nicholas Bacon was generally considered as ranking next to Burleigh. He was called by Camden ‘ *Sacris conciliis alterum columen* ; ’ and by George 35 Buchanan,

‘ *diu Britannici
Regni secundum columen.* ’

- The second wife of Sir Nicholas and mother of Francis Bacon was Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, a man of distinguished learning who had been tutor to Edward the Sixth. Sir Anthony had paid considerable
5 attention to the education of his daughters and lived to see them all splendidly and happily married. Their classical acquirements made them conspicuous even among the women of fashion of that age. Katherine, who became Lady Killigrew, wrote Latin Hexameters and Pentameters which
10 would appear with credit in the *Muse Etonenses*. Mildred, the wife of Lord Burleigh, was described by Roger Ascham as the best Greek scholar among the young women of England, Lady Jane Grey always excepted. Anne, the mother of Francis Bacon, was distinguished both as a
15 linguist and as a theologian. She corresponded in Greek with Bishop Jewel, and translated his *Apologia* from the Latin, so correctly that neither he nor Archbishop Parker could suggest a single alteration. She also translated a series of sermons on fate and free-will from the Tuscan of
20 Bernardo Ochino. This fact is the more curious, because Ochino was one of that small and audacious band of Italian reformers, anathematized alike by Wittenberg, by Geneva, by Zurich, and by Rome, from which the Socinian sect deduces its origin.
- 25 Lady Bacon was doubtless a lady of highly cultivated mind after the fashion of her age. But we must not suffer ourselves to be deluded into the belief that she and her sisters were more accomplished women than many who are now living. On this subject there is, we think, much
30 misapprehension. We have often heard men who wish, as almost all men of sense wish, that women should be highly educated, speak with rapture of the English ladies of the sixteenth century, and lament that they can find no modern damsel resembling those fair pupils of Ascham and Aylmer
35 who compared, over their embroidery, the styles of Isocrates and Lysias, and who, while the horns were sounding and the dogs in full cry, sat in the lonely oriel, with eyes riveted

to that immortal page which tells how meekly and bravely the first great martyr of intellectual liberty took the cup from his weeping gaoler. But surely these complaints have very little foundation. We would by no means disparage the ladies of the sixteenth century or their pursuits. But we 5 conceive that those who extol them at the expense of the women of our time forget one very obvious and very important circumstance. In the time of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, a person who did not read Greek and Latin could read nothing, or next to nothing. The Italian was the only 10 modern language which possessed anything that could be called a literature. All the valuable books then extant in all the vernacular dialects of Europe would hardly have filled a single shelf. England did not yet possess Shakspeare's plays and the Fairy Queen, nor France Montaigne's Essays, 15 nor Spain Don Quixote. In looking round a well-furnished library, how many English or French books can we find which were extant when Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth received their education? Chaucer, Gower, Froissart, Comines, Rabelais, nearly complete the list. It 20 was therefore absolutely necessary that a woman should be uneducated or classically educated. Indeed, without a knowledge of one of the ancient languages no person could then have any clear notion of what was passing in the political, the literary, or the religious world. The Latin was 25 in the sixteenth century all and more than all that the French was in the eighteenth. It was the language of courts as well as of the schools. It was the language of diplomacy ; it was the language of theological and political controversy. Being a fixed language, while the living languages were in a state 30 of fluctuation, and being universally known to the learned and the polite, it was employed by almost every writer who aspired to a wide and durable reputation. A person who was ignorant of it was shut out from all acquaintance, not merely with Cicero and Virgil, not merely with heavy 35 treatises on canon-law and school-divinity, but with the most interesting memoirs, State papers, and pamphlets of his

own time, nay even with the most admired poetry and the most popular squibs which appeared on the fleeting topics of the day, with Buchanan's complimentary verses, with Erasmus's dialogues, with Hutten's epistles.

- 5 This is no longer the case. All political and religious controversy is now conducted in the modern languages. The ancient tongues are used only in comments on the ancient writers. The great productions of Athenian and Roman genius are indeed still what they were. But though
10 their positive value is unchanged, their relative value, when compared with the whole mass of mental wealth possessed by mankind, has been constantly falling. They were the intellectual all of our ancestors. They are but a part of our treasures. Over what tragedy could Lady Jane Grey have
15 wept, over what comedy could she have smiled, if the ancient dramatists had not been in her library? A modern reader can make shift without *Œdipus* and *Medea*, while he possesses *Othello* and *Hamlet*. If he knows nothing of *Pyrgopolynices* and *Thraso*, he is familiar with *Bobadil*, and
20 *Bessus*, and *Pistol*, and *Parolles*. If he cannot enjoy the delicious irony of *Plato*, he may find some compensation in that of *Pascal*. If he is shut out from *Nephelococcygia*, he may take refuge in *Lilliput*. We are guilty, we hope, of no irreverence towards those great nations to which the human
25 race owes art, science, taste, civil and intellectual freedom, when we say, that the stock bequeathed by them to us has been so carefully improved that the accumulated interest now exceeds the principal. We believe that the books which have been written in the languages of western Europe, during the
30 last two hundred and fifty years,—translations from the ancient languages of course included,—are of greater value than all the books which at the beginning of that period were extant in the world. With the modern languages of Europe English women are at least as well acquainted as English
35 men. When, therefore, we compare the acquirements of Lady Jane Grey with those of an accomplished young woman of our own time, we have no hesitation in awarding

the superiority to the latter. We hope that our readers will pardon this digression. It is long ; but it can hardly be



QUEEN ELIZABETH

(From a painting belonging to the University of Cambridge)

called unseasonable, if it tends to convince them that they are mistaken in thinking that the great-great-grandmothers

of their great-great-grandmothers were superior women to their sisters and their wives.

Francis Bacon, the youngest son of Sir Nicholas, was born at York House, his father's residence in the Strand, on the twenty-second of January, 1561. The health of Francis was very delicate; and to this circumstance may be partly attributed that gravity of carriage, and that love of sedentary pursuits, which distinguished him from other boys. Everybody knows how much his premature readiness of wit and sobriety of deportment amused the Queen, and how she used to call him her young Lord Keeper. We are told that, while still a mere child, he stole away from his playfellows to a vault in St. James's Fields, for the purpose of investigating the cause of a singular echo which he had observed there. It is certain that, at only twelve, he busied himself with very ingenious speculations on the art of legerdemain: a subject which, as Professor Dugald Stewart has most justly observed, merits much more attention from philosophers than it has ever received. These are trifles. But the eminence which Bacon afterwards attained makes them interesting.

In the thirteenth year of his age he was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge. That celebrated school of learning enjoyed the peculiar favour of the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Keeper, and acknowledged the advantages which it derived from their patronage in a public letter which bears date just a month after the admission of Francis Bacon. The master was Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, a narrow-minded, mean, and tyrannical priest, who gained power by servility and adulation, and employed it in persecuting both those who agreed with Calvin about Church Government, and those who differed from Calvin touching the doctrine of Reprobation. He was now in a chrysalis state, putting off the worm and putting on the dragon-fly, a kind of intermediate grub between sycophant and oppressor. He was indemnifying himself for the court which he found it expedient to pay to the Ministers by

exercising much petty tyranny within his own college. It would be unjust, however, to deny him the praise of having rendered about this time one important service to letters. He stood up manfully against those who wished to make Trinity College a mere appendage to Westminster School; and by this act, the only good act, as far as we remember, of his long public life, he saved the noblest place of education in England from the degrading fate of King's College and New College. 5

It has often been said that Bacon, while still at college, planned that great intellectual revolution with which his name is inseparably connected. The evidence on this subject, however, is hardly sufficient to prove what is in itself so improbable as that any definite scheme of that kind should have been so early formed, even by so powerful and active a mind. But it is certain that, after a residence of three years at Cambridge, Bacon departed, carrying with him a profound contempt for the course of study pursued there, a fixed conviction that the system of academic education in England was radically vicious, a just scorn for the trifles on which the followers of Aristotle had wasted their powers, and no great reverence for Aristotle himself. 10 15 20

In his sixteenth year he visited Paris, and resided there for some time, under the care of Sir Amias Paulet, Elizabeth's minister at the French Court, and one of the ablest and most upright of the many valuable servants whom she employed. France was at that time in a deplorable state of agitation. The Huguenots and the Catholics were mustering all their force for the fiercest and most protracted of their many struggles; while the prince, whose duty it was to protect and to restrain both, had by his vices and follies degraded himself so deeply that he had no authority over either. Bacon, however, made a tour through several provinces, and appears to have passed some time at Poitiers. We have abundant proof that during his stay on the Continent he did not neglect literary and scientific pursuits. But his attention seems to have been chiefly directed to statistics and 25 30 35

diplomacy. It was at this time that he wrote those Notes on the State of Europe which are printed in his works. He studied the principles of the art of deciphering with great interest, and invented one cipher so ingenious that, many
5 years later, he thought it deserving of a place in the *De Augmentis*. In February, 1580, while engaged in these



WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHELEY

(From a painting in the Bodleian Library, Oxford)

pursuits, he received intelligence of the almost sudden death of his father, and instantly returned to England.

His prospects were greatly overcast by this event. He
10 was most desirous to obtain a provision which might enable him to devote himself to literature and politics. He applied to the Government; and it seems strange that he should

have applied in vain. His wishes were moderate. His hereditary claims on the administration were great. He had himself been favourably noticed by the Queen. His uncle was Prime Minister. His own talents were such as any minister might have been eager to enlist in the public service. But his solicitations were unsuccessful. The truth is that the Cecils disliked him, and did all that they could decently do to keep him down. It has never been alleged that Bacon had done anything to merit this dislike; nor is it at all probable that a man whose temper was naturally mild, whose manners were courteous, who, through life, nursed his fortunes with the utmost care, and who was fearful even to a fault of offending the powerful, would have given any just cause of displeasure to a kinsman who had the means of rendering him essential service and of doing him irreparable injury. The real explanation, we believe, is this. Robert Cecil, the Treasurer's second son, was younger by a few months than Bacon. He had been educated with the utmost care, had been initiated, while still a boy, in the mysteries of diplomacy and Court-intrigue, and was just at this time about to be produced on the stage of public life. The wish nearest to Burleigh's heart was that his own greatness might descend to this favourite child. But even Burleigh's fatherly partiality could hardly prevent him from perceiving that Robert, with all his abilities and acquirements, was no match for his cousin Francis. This seems to us the only rational explanation of the Treasurer's conduct. Mr. Montagu is more charitable. He supposes that Burleigh was influenced merely by affection for his nephew, and was 'little disposed to encourage him to rely on others rather than on himself, and to venture on the quicksands of politics, instead of the certain profession of the law.' If such were Burleigh's feelings, it seems strange that he should have suffered his son to venture on those quicksands from which he so carefully preserved his nephew. But the truth is that, if Burleigh had been so disposed, he might easily have secured to Bacon a comfortable provision which should

have been exposed to no risk. And it is certain that he showed as little disposition to enable his nephew to live by a profession as to enable him to live without a profession. That Bacon himself attributed the conduct of his relatives to
5 jealousy of his superior talents, we have not the smallest doubt. In a letter written many years later to Villiers, he expresses himself thus: 'Countenance, encourage, and advance able men in all kinds, degrees, and professions. For in the time of the Cecils, the father and the son, able
10 men were by design and of purpose suppressed.'

Whatever Burleigh's motives might be, his purpose was unalterable. The supplications which Francis addressed to his uncle and aunt were earnest, humble, and almost servile. He was the most promising and accomplished young man
15 of his time. His father had been the brother-in-law, the most useful colleague, the nearest friend of the Minister. But all this availed poor Francis nothing. He was forced, much against his will, to betake himself to the study of the law. He was admitted at Gray's Inn; and, during some
20 years, he laboured there in obscurity.

What the extent of his legal attainments may have been it is difficult to say. It was not hard for a man of his powers to acquire that very moderate portion of technical knowledge which, when joined to quickness, tact, wit, ingenuity,
25 eloquence, and knowledge of the world, is sufficient to raise an advocate to the highest professional eminence. The general opinion appears to have been that which was on one occasion expressed by Elizabeth. 'Bacon,' said she, 'hath a great wit and much learning; but in law showeth to the
30 uttermost of his knowledge, and is not deep.' The Cecils, we suspect, did their best to spread this opinion by whispers and insinuations. Coke openly proclaimed it with that rancorous insolence which was habitual to him. No reports are more readily believed than those which disparage genius,
35 and soothe the envy of conscious mediocrity. It must have been inexpressibly consoling to a stupid sergeant, the forerunner of him who, a hundred and fifty years later, 'shook

his head at Murray as a wit,' to know that the most profound thinker and the most accomplished orator of the age was very imperfectly acquainted with the law touching *bastard eigné* and *mulier puisné*, and confounded the right of free fishery with that of common of piscary.

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It is certain that no man in that age, or indeed during the century and a half which followed, was better acquainted than Bacon with the philosophy of law. His technical knowledge was quite sufficient, with the help of his admirable talents and of his insinuating address, to procure clients. He rose very rapidly into business, and soon entertained hopes of being called within the bar. He applied to Lord Burleigh for that purpose, but received a testy refusal. Of the grounds of that refusal we can, in some measure, judge by Bacon's answer, which is still extant. It seems that the old Lord, whose temper age and gout had by no means altered for the better, and who loved to mark his dislike of the showy, quick-witted young men of the rising generation, took this opportunity to read Francis a very sharp lecture on his vanity and want of respect for his betters. Francis returned a most submissive reply, thanked the Treasurer for the admonition, and promised to profit by it. Strangers meanwhile were less unjust to the young barrister than his nearest kinsman had been. In his twenty-sixth year he became a bencher of his Inn; and two years later he was appointed Lent reader. At length, in 1590, he obtained for the first time some show of favour from the Court. He was sworn in Queen's Counsel extraordinary. But this mark of honour was not accompanied by any pecuniary emolument. He continued, therefore, to solicit his powerful relatives for some provision which might enable him to live without drudging at his profession. He bore, with a patience and serenity which, we fear, bordered on meanness, the morose humours of his uncle, and the sneering reflections which his cousin cast on speculative men, lost in philosophical dreams, and too wise to be capable of transacting public business. At length the Cecils were generous enough to procure for him

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the reversion of the Registrarship of the Star Chamber. This was a lucrative place; but, as many years elapsed before it fell in, he was still under the necessity of labouring for his daily bread.

- 5 In the Parliament which was called in 1593 he sat as member for the county of Middlesex, and soon attained eminence as a debater. It is easy to perceive from the scanty remains of his oratory that the same compactness of expression and richness of fancy which appear in his writings
10 characterized his speeches; and that his extensive acquaintance with literature and history enabled him to entertain his audience with a vast variety of illustrations and allusions which were generally happy and apposite, but which were probably not least pleasing to the taste of that age when
15 they were such as would now be thought childish or pedantic. It is evident also that he was, as indeed might have been expected, perfectly free from those faults which are generally found in an advocate who, after having risen to eminence at the bar, enters the House of Commons; that it was his habit
20 to deal with every great question, not in small detached portions, but as a whole; that he refined little, and that his reasonings were those of a capacious rather than a subtle mind. Ben Jonson, a most unexceptionable judge, has described Bacon's eloquence in words which, though often quoted, will
25 bear to be quoted again. 'There happened in my time one noble speaker who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language, where he could spare or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious. No man ever spoke more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in
30 what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough or look aside from him without loss. He commanded where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of
35 every man that heard him was lest he should make an end.' From the mention which is made of judges, it would seem that Jonson had heard Bacon only at the bar. Indeed we

imagine that the House of Commons was then almost inaccessible to strangers. It is not probable that a man of Bacon's nice observation would speak in Parliament exactly as he spoke in the Court of Queen's Bench. But the graces of manner and language must, to a great extent, have been common between the Queen's Counsel and the Knight of the Shire. 5

Bacon tried to play a very difficult game in politics. He wished to be at once a favourite at Court and popular with the multitude. If any man could have succeeded in this attempt, a man of talents so rare, of judgment so prematurely ripe, of temper so calm, and of manners so plausible, might have been expected to succeed. Nor indeed did he wholly fail. Once, however, he indulged in a burst of patriotism which cost him a long and bitter remorse, and which he never ventured to repeat. The Court asked for large subsidies and for speedy payment. The remains of Bacon's speech breathe all the spirit of the Long Parliament. 'The gentlemen,' said he, 'must sell their plate, and the farmers their brass pots, ere this will be paid; and for us, we are here to search the wounds of the realm, and not to skim them over. The dangers are these. First, we shall breed discontent and endanger her Majesty's safety, which must consist more in the love of the people than their wealth. Secondly, this being granted in this sort, other princes hereafter will look for the like; so that we shall pre- 15
cedent on ourselves and our posterity; and in histories, it is to be observed, of all nations the English are not to be subject, base, or taxable.' The Queen and her Ministers resented this outbreak of public spirit in the highest manner. 20
Indeed, many an honest member of the House of Commons had, for a much smaller matter, been sent to the Tower by the proud and hot-blooded Tudors. The young patriot condescended to make the most abject apologies. He adjured the Lord Treasurer to show some favour to his poor servant and ally. He bemoaned himself to the Lord Keeper, in a letter which may keep in countenance the 25
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most unmanly of the epistles which Cicero wrote during his banishment. The lesson was not thrown away. Bacon never offended in the same manner again.

He was now satisfied that he had little to hope from the
5 patronage of those powerful kinsmen whom he had solicited during twelve years with such meek pertinacity; and he began to look towards a different quarter. Among the courtiers of Elizabeth had lately appeared a new favourite, young, noble, wealthy, accomplished, eloquent, brave, gene-
10 rous, aspiring: a favourite who had obtained from the grey-headed Queen such marks of regard as she had scarce vouchsafed to Leicester in the season of the passions; who was at once the ornament of the palace and the idol of the city; who was the common patron of men of letters and of
15 men of the sword; who was the common refuge of the persecuted Catholic and of the persecuted Puritan. The calm prudence which had enabled Burleigh to shape his course through so many dangers, and the vast experience which he had acquired in dealing with two generations of
20 colleagues and rivals, seemed scarcely sufficient to support him in this new competition; and Robert Cecil sickened with fear and envy as he contemplated the rising fame and influence of Essex.

The history of the factions which, towards the close of
25 the reign of Elizabeth, divided her Court and her Council, though pregnant with instruction, is by no means interesting or pleasing. Both parties employed the means which are familiar to unscrupulous statesmen; and neither had, or even pretended to have, any important end in view. The
30 public mind was then reposing from one great effort, and collecting strength for another. That impetuous and appalling rush with which the human intellect had moved forward in the career of truth and liberty, during the fifty years which followed the separation of Luther from the
35 communion of the Church of Rome, was now over. The boundary between Protestantism and Popery had been fixed very nearly where it still remains. England, Scotland, the

northern kingdoms were on one side; Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, on the other. The line of demarcation ran, as it still runs, through the midst of the Netherlands, of Germany, and of Switzerland, dividing province from province, electorate from electorate, and canton from canton. 5
France might be considered as a debatable land, in which the contest was still undecided. Since that time, the two religions have done little more than maintain their ground. A few occasional incursions have been made. But the general frontier remains the same. During two hundred 10
and fifty years no great society has risen up like one man, and emancipated itself by one mighty effort from the superstition of ages. This spectacle was common in the sixteenth century. Why has it ceased to be so? Why has so violent a movement been followed by so long a repose? The 15
doctrines of the reformers are not less agreeable to reason or to revelation now than formerly. The public mind is assuredly not less enlightened now than formerly. Why is it that Protestantism, after carrying everything before it in a time of comparatively little knowledge and little freedom, 20
should make no perceptible progress in a reasoning and tolerant age; that the Luthers, the Calvins, the Knoxes, the Zwingles, should have left no successors; that during two centuries and a half fewer converts should have been brought over from the Church of Rome than at the time of the 25
Reformation were sometimes gained in a year? This has always appeared to us one of the most curious and interesting problems in history. On some future occasion we may perhaps attempt to solve it. At present it is enough to say that, at the close of Elizabeth's reign, the Protestant party, 30
to borrow the language of the Apocalypse, had left its first love and had ceased to do its first works.

The great struggle of the sixteenth century was over. The great struggle of the seventeenth century had not commenced. The confessors of Mary's reign were dead. 35
The members of the Long Parliament were still in their cradles. The Papists had been deprived of all power in the

State. Puritans had not yet attained any formidable extent of power. True it is that a student, well acquainted with the history of the next generation, can easily discern in the proceedings of the last Parliaments of Elizabeth the germ of great and ever memorable events. But to the eye of a contemporary nothing of this appeared. The two sections of ambitious men who were struggling for power differed from each other on no important public question. Both belonged to the Established Church. Both professed boundless loyalty to the Queen. Both approved the war with Spain. There is not, as far as we are aware, any reason to believe that they entertained different views concerning the succession to the Crown. Certainly neither attempted to redress any public grievance. The most odious and pernicious grievance under which the nation then suffered was a source of profit to both, and was defended by both with equal zeal. Raleigh held a monopoly of cards, Essex a monopoly of sweet wines. In fact, the only ground of quarrel between the parties was that they could not agree as to their respective shares of power and patronage.

Nothing in the political conduct of Essex entitles him to esteem; and the pity with which we regard his early and terrible end is diminished by the consideration, that he put to hazard the lives and fortunes of his most attached friends, and endeavoured to throw the whole country into confusion, for objects purely personal. Still, it is impossible not to be deeply interested for a man so brave, high-spirited, and generous; for a man who, while he conducted himself towards his Sovereign with a boldness such as was then found in no other subject, conducted himself towards his dependents with a delicacy such as has rarely been found in any other patron. Unlike the vulgar herd of benefactors, he desired to inspire, not gratitude, but affection. He tried to make those whom he befriended feel towards him as towards an equal. His mind, ardent, susceptible, naturally disposed to admiration of all that is great and beautiful, was fasci-

nated by the genius and the accomplishments of Bacon. A close friendship was soon formed between them, a friendship destined to have a dark, a mournful, a shameful end.

In 1594 the office of Attorney-General became vacant, and Bacon hoped to obtain it. Essex made his friend's 5



ROBERT DEVEREUX, SECOND EARL OF ESSEX

(From a painting by Van Somer, dated 1599, belonging to the Earl of Essex)

cause his own, sued, expostulated, promised, threatened, but all in vain. It is probable that the dislike felt by the Cecils for Bacon had been increased by the connexion which he had lately formed with the Earl. Robert was then on the point of being made Secretary of State. He happened one 10

day to be in the same coach with Essex, and a remarkable conversation took place between them. 'My Lord,' said Sir Robert, 'the Queen has determined to appoint an Attorney-General without more delay. I pray your Lordship to let
5 me know whom you will favour.' 'I wonder at your question,' replied the Earl. 'You cannot but know that resolutely, against all the world, I stand for your cousin, Francis Bacon.' 'Good Lord!' cried Cecil, unable to bridle his temper, 'I wonder your Lordship should spend your strength
10 on so unlikely a matter. Can you name one precedent of so raw a youth promoted to so great a place?' This objection came with a singularly bad grace from a man who, though younger than Bacon, was in daily expectation of being made Secretary of State. The blot was too obvious to be missed
15 by Essex, who seldom forbore to speak his mind. 'I have made no search,' said he, 'for precedents of young men who have filled the office of Attorney-General. But I could name to you, Sir Robert, a man younger than Francis, less learned, and equally inexperienced, who is suing and striving with
20 all his might for an office of far greater weight.' Sir Robert had nothing to say but that he thought his own abilities equal to the place which he hoped to obtain, and that his father's long services deserved such a mark of gratitude from the Queen; as if his abilities were comparable to his cousin's,
25 or as if Sir Nicholas Bacon had done no service to the State. Cecil then hinted that, if Bacon would be satisfied with the Solicitorship, that might be of easier digestion to the Queen. 'Digest me no digestions,' said the generous and ardent Earl. 'The Attorneyship for Francis is that I must have;
30 and in that I will spend all my power, might, authority, and amity; and with tooth and nail procure the same for him against whomsoever: and whosoever getteth this office out of my hands for any other, before he have it, it shall cost him the coming by. And this be you assured of, Sir Robert, for now
35 I fully declare myself; and for my own part, Sir Robert, I think strange both of my Lord Treasurer and you, that can have the mind to seek the preference of a stranger before so

near a kinsman; for if you weigh in a balance the parts every way of his competitor and him, only excepting five poor years of admitting to a house of court before Francis, you shall find in all other respects whatsoever no comparison between them.'

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When the office of Attorney-General was filled up, the Earl pressed the Queen to make Bacon Solicitor-General, and, on this occasion, the old Lord Treasurer professed himself not unfavourable to his nephew's pretensions. But, after a contest which lasted more than a year and a half, and in which Essex, to use his own words, 'spent all his power, might, authority, and amity,' the place was given to another. Essex felt this disappointment keenly, but found consolation in the most munificent and delicate liberality. He presented Bacon with an estate worth near two thousand pounds situated at Twickenham; and this, as Bacon owned many years after, 'with so kind and noble circumstances as the manner was worth more than the matter.'

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It was soon after these events that Bacon first appeared before the public as a writer. Early in 1597 he published a small volume of Essays, which was afterwards enlarged by successive additions to many times its original bulk. This little work was, as it well deserved to be, exceedingly popular. It was reprinted in a few months; it was translated into Latin, French, and Italian; and it seems to have at once established the literary reputation of its author. But, though Bacon's reputation rose, his fortunes were still depressed. He was in great pecuniary difficulties; and, on one occasion, was arrested in the street at the suit of a goldsmith for a debt of three hundred pounds, and was carried to a spunging-house in Coleman Street.

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The kindness of Essex was in the meantime indefatigable. In 1596 he sailed on his memorable expedition to the coast of Spain. At the very moment of his embarkation, he wrote to several of his friends, commending to them, during his own absence, the interests of Bacon. He returned, after performing the most brilliant military exploit that was

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achieved on the Continent by English arms during the long interval which elapsed between the battle of Agincourt and that of Blenheim. His valour, his talents, his humane and generous disposition, had made him the idol of his countrymen, and had extorted praise from the enemies whom he had conquered.¹ He had always been proud and headstrong; and his splendid success seems to have rendered his faults more offensive than ever. But to his friend Francis he was still the same. Bacon had some thoughts of making his fortune by marriage, and had begun to pay court to a widow of the name of Hatton. The eccentric manners and violent temper of this woman made her a disgrace and a torment to her connexions. But Bacon was not aware of her faults, or was disposed to overlook them for the sake of her ample fortune. Essex pleaded his friend's cause with his usual ardour. The letters which the Earl addressed to Lady Hatton and to her mother are still extant, and are highly honourable to him. 'If,' he wrote, 'she were my sister or my daughter, I protest I would as confidently resolve to further it as I now persuade you : ' and again, 'If my faith be anything, I protest, if I had one as near me as she is to you, I had rather match her with him, than with men of far greater titles.' The suit, happily for Bacon, was unsuccessful. The lady indeed was kind to him in more ways than one. She rejected him ; and she accepted his enemy. She married that narrow-minded, bad-hearted pedant, Sir Edward Coke, and did her best to make him as miserable as he deserved to be.

The fortunes of Essex had now reached their height, and began to decline. He possessed indeed all the qualities which raise men to greatness rapidly. But he had neither the virtues nor the vices which enable men to retain greatness long. His frankness, his keen sensibility to insult and injustice were by no means agreeable to a Sovereign naturally impatient of opposition, and accustomed, during forty years, to the most extravagant flattery and the most abject

¹ See Cervantes's *Novela de la Española Inglesa*.

submission. The daring and contemptuous manner in which he bade defiance to his enemies excited their deadly hatred. His administration in Ireland was unfortunate, and in many respects highly blamable. Though his brilliant courage and his impetuous activity fitted him admirably for such enterprises as that of Cadiz, he did not possess the 5 caution, patience, and resolution necessary for the conduct of a protracted war, in which difficulties were to be gradually surmounted, in which much discomfort was to be endured, and in which few splendid exploits could be achieved. For 10 the civil duties of his high place he was still less qualified. Though eloquent and accomplished, he was in no sense a statesman. The multitude indeed still continued to regard even his faults with fondness. But the Court had ceased to give him credit, even for the merit which he really possessed. 15 The person on whom, during the decline of his influence, he chiefly depended, to whom he confided his perplexities, whose advice he solicited, whose intercession he employed, was his friend Bacon. The lamentable truth must be told. This friend, so loved, so trusted, bore a principal part in 20 ruining the Earl's fortunes, in shedding his blood, and in blackening his memory.

But let us be just to Bacon. We believe that, to the last, he had no wish to injure Essex. Nay, we believe that he sincerely exerted himself to serve Essex, as long as he 25 thought that he could serve Essex without injuring himself. The advice which he gave to his noble benefactor was generally most judicious. He did all in his power to dissuade the Earl from accepting the Government of Ireland. 'For,' says he, 'I did as plainly see his overthrow chained as 30 it were by destiny to that journey, as it is possible for a man to ground a judgment upon future contingents.' The prediction was accomplished. Essex returned in disgrace. Bacon attempted to mediate between his friend and the Queen; and, we believe, honestly employed all his address 35 for that purpose. But the task which he had undertaken was too difficult, delicate, and perilous, even for so wary and

dexterous an agent. He had to manage two spirits equally proud, resentful, and ungovernable. At Essex House, he had to calm the rage of a young hero incensed by multiplied wrongs and humiliations, and then to pass to Whitehall for the purpose of soothing the peevishness of a Sovereign, whose temper, never very gentle, had been rendered morbidly irritable by age, by declining health, and by the long habit of listening to flattery and exacting implicit obedience. It is hard to serve two masters. Situated as Bacon was, it was scarcely possible for him to shape his course so as not to give one or both of his employers reason to complain. For a time he acted as fairly as, in circumstances so embarrassing, could reasonably be expected. At length he found that, while he was trying to prop the fortunes of another, he was in danger of shaking his own. He had disoblged both the parties whom he wished to reconcile. Essex thought him wanting in zeal as a friend: Elizabeth thought him wanting in duty as a subject. The Earl looked on him as a spy of the Queen; the Queen as a creature of the Earl. The reconciliation which he had laboured to effect appeared utterly hopeless. A thousand signs, legible to eyes far less keen than his, announced that the fall of his patron was at hand. He shaped his course accordingly. When Essex was brought before the Council to answer for his conduct in Ireland, Bacon, after a faint attempt to excuse himself from taking part against his friend, submitted himself to the Queen's pleasure, and appeared at the bar in support of the charges. But a darker scene was behind. The unhappy young nobleman, made reckless by despair, ventured on a rash and criminal enterprise, which rendered him liable to the highest penalties of the law. What course was Bacon to take? This was one of those conjunctures which show what men are. To a high-minded man, wealth, power, Court-favour, even personal safety, would have appeared of no account when opposed to friendship, gratitude, and honour. Such a man would have stood by the side of Essex at the trial, would have 'spent all his power, might, authority,

and amity' in soliciting a mitigation of the sentence, would have been a daily visitor at the cell, would have received the last injunctions and the last embrace on the scaffold, would have employed all the powers of his intellect to guard from insult the fame of his generous though erring friend. An ordinary man would neither have incurred the danger of succouring Essex, nor the disgrace of assailing him. Bacon did not even preserve neutrality. He appeared as counsel for the prosecution. In that situation, he did not confine himself to what would have been amply sufficient to procure a verdict. He employed all his wit, his rhetoric, and his learning, not to insure a conviction—for the circumstances were such that a conviction was inevitable—but to deprive the unhappy prisoner of all those excuses which, though legally of no value, yet tended to diminish the moral guilt of the crime, and which, therefore, though they could not justify the peers in pronouncing an acquittal, might incline the Queen to grant a pardon. The Earl urged as a palliation of his frantic acts that he was surrounded by powerful and inveterate enemies, that they had ruined his fortunes, that they sought his life, and that their persecutions had driven him to despair. This was true; and Bacon well knew it to be true. But he affected to treat it as an idle pretence. He compared Essex to Pisistratus who, by pretending to be in imminent danger of assassination, and by exhibiting self-inflicted wounds, succeeded in establishing tyranny at Athens. This was too much for the prisoner to bear. He interrupted his ungrateful friend by calling on him to quit the part of an advocate, to come forward as a witness, and to tell the Lords whether, in old times, he, Francis Bacon, had not, under his own hand, repeatedly asserted the truth of what he now represented as idle pretexts. It is painful to go on with this lamentable story. Bacon returned a shuffling answer to the Earl's question, and, as if the allusion to Pisistratus were not sufficiently offensive, made another allusion still more unjustifiable. He compared Essex to Henry Duke of Guise, and the rash attempt in the city to the day of the barricades

at Paris. Why Bacon had recourse to such a topic it is difficult to say. It was quite unnecessary for the purpose of obtaining a verdict. It was certain to produce a strong impression on the mind of the haughty and jealous princess on whose pleasure the Earl's fate depended. The faintest allusion to the degrading tutelage in which the last Valois had been held by the house of Lorraine was sufficient to harden her heart against a man who in rank, in military reputation, in popularity among the citizens of the capital, bore some resemblance to the Captain of the League.

Essex was convicted. Bacon made no effort to save him, though the Queen's feelings were such that he might have pleaded his benefactor's cause, possibly with success, certainly without any serious danger to himself. The unhappy nobleman was executed. His fate excited strong, perhaps unreasonable feelings of compassion and indignation. The Queen was received by the citizens of London with gloomy looks and faint acclamations. She thought it expedient to publish a vindication of her late proceedings. The faithless friend who had assisted in taking the Earl's life was now employed to murder the Earl's fame. The Queen had seen some of Bacon's writings and had been pleased with them. He was accordingly selected to write 'A Declaration of the Practices and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert Earl of Essex,' which was printed by authority. In the succeeding reign, Bacon had not a word to say in defence of this performance, a performance abounding in expressions which no generous enemy would have employed respecting a man who had so dearly expiated his offences. His only excuse was, that he wrote it by command, that he considered himself as a mere secretary, that he had particular instructions as to the way in which he was to treat every part of the subject, and that, in fact, he had furnished only the arrangement and the style.

We regret to say that the whole conduct of Bacon through the course of these transactions appears to Mr. Montagu not merely excusable, but deserving of high admiration. The

integrity and benevolence of this gentleman are so well known that our readers will probably be at a loss to conceive by what steps he can have arrived at so extraordinary a conclusion : and we are half afraid that they will suspect us of practising some artifice upon them when we report the principal arguments which he employs. 5

In order to get rid of the charge of ingratitude, Mr. Montagu attempts to show that Bacon lay under greater obligations to the Queen than to Essex. What these obligations were it is not easy to discover. The situation of Queen's Counsel, and a remote reversion, were surely favours very far below Bacon's personal and hereditary claims. They were favours which had not cost the Queen a groat, nor had they put a groat into Bacon's purse. It was necessary to rest Elizabeth's claims to gratitude on some other ground ; and this Mr. Montagu felt. ' What perhaps was her greatest kindness,' says he, ' instead of having hastily advanced Bacon, she had, with a continuance of her friendship, made him bear the yoke in his youth. Such were his obligations to Elizabeth.' Such indeed they were. Being the son of one of her oldest and most faithful Ministers, being himself the ablest and most accomplished young man of his time, he had been condemned by her to drudgery, to obscurity, to poverty. She had depreciated his acquirements. She had checked him in the most imperious manner when in Parliament he ventured to act an independent part. She had refused to him the professional advancement to which he had a just claim. To her it was owing that, while younger men, not superior to him in extraction and far inferior to him in every kind of personal merit, were filling the highest offices of the State, adding manor to manor, rearing palace after palace, he was lying at a spunging-house for a debt of three hundred pounds. Assuredly if Bacon owed gratitude to Elizabeth, he owed none to Essex. If the Queen really was his best friend the Earl was his worst enemy. We wonder that Mr. Montagu did not press this argument a little further. He might have maintained that Bacon was excusable in revenging 20 25 30 35

himself on a man who had attempted to rescue his youth from the salutary yoke imposed on it by the Queen, who had wished to advance him hastily, who, not content with attempting to inflict the Attorney-Generalship upon him, had been so
5 cruel as to present him with a landed estate.

Again we can hardly think Mr. Montagu serious when he tells us that Bacon was bound for the sake of the public not to destroy his own hopes of advancement, and that he took part against Essex from a wish to obtain power which might
10 enable him to be useful to his country. We really do not know how to refute such arguments except by stating them. Nothing is impossible which does not involve a contradiction. It is barely possible that Bacon's motives for acting as he did on this occasion may have been gratitude to the Queen for
15 keeping him poor, and a desire to benefit his fellow-creatures in some high situation. And there is a possibility that Bonner may have been a good Protestant who, being convinced that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church, heroically went through all the drudgery and infamy of
20 persecution, in order that he might inspire the English people with an intense and lasting hatred of Popery. There is a possibility that Jeffreys may have been an ardent lover of liberty, and that he may have beheaded Algernon Sydney, and burned Elizabeth Gaunt, only in
25 order to produce a reaction which might lead to the limitation of the prerogative. There is a possibility that Thurtell may have killed Weare only in order to give the youth of England an impressive warning against gaming and bad company. There is a possibility that Fauntleroy may have
30 forged powers of attorney, only in order that his fate might turn the attention of the public to the defects of the penal law. These things, we say, are possible. But they are so extravagantly improbable that a man who should act on such suppositions would be fit only for Saint Luke's. And
35 we do not see why suppositions on which no rational man would act in ordinary life should be admitted into history.

Mr. Montagu's notion that Bacon desired power only in

order to do good to mankind appears somewhat strange to us, when we consider how Bacon afterwards used power, and how he lost it. Surely the service which he rendered to mankind by taking Lady Wharton's broad pieces and Sir John Kennedy's cabinet was not of such vast importance as to sanctify all the means which might conduce to that end. If the case were fairly stated, it would, we much fear, stand thus: Bacon was a servile advocate, that he might be a corrupt judge. 5

Mr. Montagu maintains that none but the ignorant and unreflecting can think Bacon censurable for anything that he did as counsel for the Crown, and that no advocate can justifiably use any discretion as to the party for whom he appears. We will not at present inquire whether the doctrine which is held on this subject by English lawyers be or be not agreeable to reason and morality; whether it be right that a man should, with a wig on his head, and a band round his neck, do for a guinea what, without those appendages, he would think it wicked and infamous to do for an empire; whether it be right that, not merely believing but knowing a statement to be true, he should do all that can be done by sophistry, by rhetoric, by solemn asseveration, by indignant exclamation, by gesture, by play of features, by terrifying one honest witness, by perplexing another, to cause a jury to think that statement false. It is not necessary on the present occasion to decide these questions. 15
The professional rules, be they good or bad, are rules to which many wise and virtuous men have conformed, and are daily conforming. If, therefore, Bacon did no more than these rules required of him, we shall readily admit that he was blameless, or, at least, excusable. But we conceive that his conduct was not justifiable according to any professional rules that now exist, or that ever existed in England. It has always been held that in criminal cases in which the prisoner was denied the help of counsel, and, above all, in capital cases, advocates were both entitled and bound to exercise a discretion. It is true that, after the Revolution, when the 20 25 30 35

WITHDRAWN

Parliament began to make inquisition for the innocent blood which had been shed by the last Stuarts, a feeble attempt was made to defend the lawyers who had been accomplices in the murder of Sir Thomas Armstrong, on the ground that

5 they had only acted professionally. The wretched sophism was silenced by the execrations of the House of Commons. . . . ' Things will never be well done,' said Mr. Foley, ' till some of that profession be made examples.' ' We have a new sort of monsters in the world,' said the younger Hampden,

10 ' haranguing a man to death. These I call bloodhounds. Sawyer is very criminal and guilty of this murder.' ' I speak to discharge my conscience,' said Mr. Garroway. ' I will not have the blood of this man at my door. Sawyer demanded judgment against him and execution. I believe

15 him guilty of the death of this man. Do what you will with him.' ' If the profession of the law,' said the elder Hampden, ' gives a man authority to murder at this rate, it is the interest of all men to rise and exterminate that profession.' Nor was this language held only by unlearned country gentlemen.

20 Sir William Williams, one of the ablest and most unscrupulous lawyers of the age, took the same view of the case. He had not hesitated, he said, to take part in the prosecution of the Bishops, because they were allowed counsel. But he maintained that, where the prisoner was

25 not allowed counsel, the counsel for the Crown was bound to exercise a discretion, and that every lawyer who neglected this distinction was a betrayer of the law. But it is unnecessary to cite authority. It is known to everybody who has ever looked into a court of quarter-sessions that

30 lawyers do exercise a discretion in criminal cases ; and it is plain to every man of common sense that, if they did not exercise such a discretion, they would be a more hateful body of men than those bravoës who used to hire out their stilettoes in Italy.

35 Bacon appeared against a man who was indeed guilty of a great offence, but who had been his benefactor and friend. He did more than this. Nay, he did more than a person

who had never seen Essex would have been justified in doing. He employed all the art of an advocate in order to make the prisoner's conduct appear more inexcusable and more dangerous to the State than it really had been. All that professional duty could, in any case, have required of him would have been to conduct the cause so as to insure a conviction. But from the nature of the circumstances there could not be the smallest doubt that the Earl would be found guilty. The character of the crime was unequivocal. It had been committed recently, in broad daylight, in the streets of the capital, in the presence of thousands. If ever there was an occasion on which an advocate had no temptation to resort to extraneous topics, for the purpose of blinding the judgment and inflaming the passions of a tribunal, this was that occasion. Why then resort to arguments which, while they could add nothing to the strength of the case, considered in a legal point of view, tended to aggravate the moral guilt of the fatal enterprise, and to excite fear and resentment in that quarter from which alone the Earl could now expect mercy? Why remind the audience of the arts of the ancient tyrants? Why deny, what everybody knew to be the truth, that a powerful faction at court had long sought to effect the ruin of the prisoner? Why, above all, institute a parallel between the unhappy culprit and the most wicked and most successful rebel of the age? Was it absolutely impossible to do all that professional duty required without reminding a jealous Sovereign of the League, of the barricades, and of all the humiliations which a too powerful subject had heaped on Henry the Third?

But if we admit the plea which Mr. Montagu urges in defence of what Bacon did as an advocate, what shall we say of the 'Declaration of the Treasons of Robert Earl of Essex'? Here at least there was no pretence of professional obligation. Even those who may think it the duty of a lawyer to hang, draw, and quarter his benefactors, for a proper consideration, will hardly say that it is his duty to write abusive pamphlets against them, after they are in their

- graves. Bacon excused himself by saying that he was not answerable for the matter of the book, and that he furnished only the language. But why did he endow such purposes with words? Could no hack writer, without virtue or shame, be found to exaggerate the errors, already so dearly expiated, of a gentle and noble spirit? Every age produces those links between the man and the baboon. Every age is fertile of Oldmixons, of Kenricks, and of Antony Pasquins. But was it for Bacon so to prostitute his intellect? Could he not feel that, while he rounded and pointed some period dictated by the envy of Cecil, or gave a plausible form to some slander invented by the dastardly malignity of Cobham, he was not sinning merely against his friend's honour and his own? Could he not feel that letters, eloquence, philosophy, were all degraded in his degradation?

- The real explanation of all this is perfectly obvious; and nothing but a partiality amounting to a ruling passion could cause anybody to miss it. The moral qualities of Bacon were not of a high order. We do not say that he was a bad man. He was not inhuman or tyrannical. He bore with meekness his high civil honours, and the far higher honours gained by his intellect. He was very seldom, if ever, provoked into treating any person with malignity and insolence. No man more readily held up the left cheek to those who had smitten the right. No man was more expert at the soft answer which turneth away wrath. He was never charged, by any accuser entitled to the smallest credit, with licentious habits. His even temper, his flowing courtesy, the general respectability of his demeanour, made a favourable impression on those who saw him in situations which do not severely try the principles. His faults were—we write it with pain—coldness of heart, and meanness of spirit. He seems to have been incapable of feeling strong affection, of facing great dangers, of making great sacrifices. His desires were set on things below. Wealth, precedence, titles, patronage, the mace, the seals, the coronet, large houses, fair gardens, rich manors, massy services of plate,

gay hangings, curious cabinets, had as great attractions for him as for any of the courtiers who dropped on their knees in the dirt when Elizabeth passed by, and then hastened home to write to the King of Scots that her Grace seemed to be breaking fast. For these objects he had stooped to everything and endured everything. For these he had sued in the humblest manner, and, when unjustly and ungraciously repulsed, had thanked those who had repulsed him, and had begun to sue again. For these objects, as soon as he found that the smallest show of independence in Parliament was offensive to the Queen, he had abased himself to the dust before her, and implored forgiveness in terms better suited to a convicted thief than to a knight of the shire. For these he joined, and for these he forsook, Lord Essex. He continued to plead his patron's cause with the Queen as long as he thought that by pleading that cause he might serve himself. Nay, he went further; for his feelings, though not warm, were kind; he pleaded that cause as long as he thought that he could plead it without injury to himself. But when it became evident that Essex was going headlong to his ruin, Bacon began to tremble for his own fortunes. What he had to fear would not indeed have been very alarming to a man of lofty character. It was not death. It was not imprisonment. It was the loss of Court favour. It was the being left behind by others in the career of ambition. It was the having leisure to finish the *Instauratio Magna*. The Queen looked coldly on him. The courtiers began to consider him as a marked man. He determined to change his line of conduct, and to proceed in a new course with so much vigour as to make up for lost time. When once he had determined to act against his friend, knowing himself to be suspected, he acted with more zeal than would have been necessary or justifiable if he had been employed against a stranger. He exerted his professional talents to shed the Earl's blood, and his literary talents to blacken the Earl's memory.

It is certain that his conduct excited at the time great

and general disapprobation. While Elizabeth lived, indeed, this disapprobation, though deeply felt, was not loudly expressed. But a great change was at hand. The health of the Queen had long been decaying; and the operation of
5 age and disease was now assisted by acute mental suffering. The pitiable melancholy of her last days has generally been ascribed to her fond regret for Essex. But we are disposed to attribute her dejection partly to physical causes, and partly to the conduct of her courtiers and Ministers. They
10 did all in their power to conceal from her the intrigues which they were carrying on at the Court of Scotland. But her keen sagacity was not to be so deceived. She did not know the whole. But she knew that she was surrounded by men who were impatient for that new world which was to begin
15 at her death, who had never been attached to her by affection, and who were now but very slightly attached to her by interest. Prostration and flattery could not conceal from her the cruel truth, that those whom she had trusted and promoted had never loved her, and were fast ceasing to fear
20 her. Unable to avenge herself, and too proud to complain, she suffered sorrow and resentment to prey on her heart, till, after a long career of power, prosperity, and glory, she died sick and weary of the world.

James mounted the throne: and Bacon employed all his
25 address to obtain for himself a share of the favour of his new master. This was no difficult task. The faults of James, both as a man and as a prince, were numerous; but insensibility to the claims of genius and learning was not among them. He was indeed made up of two men, a witty,
30 well-read scholar, who wrote, disputed, and harangued, and a nervous, drivelling idiot, who acted. If he had been a Canon of Christ Church, or a Prebendary of Westminster, it is not improbable that he would have left a highly respectable name to posterity; that he would have distinguished
35 himself among the translators of the Bible, and among the Divines who attended the Synod of Dort; and that he would have been regarded by the literary world as no contemptible



KING JAMES I.

(From a painting by P. van Somer, dated 1621, in the National Portrait Gallery)

rival of Vossius and Casaubon. But fortune placed him in a situation in which his weaknesses covered him with disgrace, and in which his accomplishments brought him no honour. In a college, much eccentricity and childishness
5 would have been readily pardoned in so learned a man. But all that learning could do for him on the throne was to make people think him a pedant as well as a fool.

Bacon was favourably received at Court; and soon found that his chance of promotion was not diminished by the death
10 of the Queen. He was solicitous to be knighted, for two reasons which are somewhat amusing. The King had already dubbed half London, and Bacon found himself the only untitled person in his mess at Gray's Inn. This was not very agreeable to him. He had also, to quote his own words,
15 'found an Alderman's daughter, a handsome maiden, to his liking.' On both these grounds, he begged his cousin Robert Cecil, 'if it might please his good Lordship,' to use his interest in his behalf. The application was successful. Bacon was one of the three hundred gentlemen who, on the
20 coronation-day, received the honour, if it is to be so called, of knighthood. The handsome maiden, a daughter of Alderman Barnham, soon after consented to become Sir Francis's lady.

The death of Elizabeth, though on the whole it improved
25 Bacon's prospects, was in one respect an unfortunate event for him. The new King had always felt kindly towards Lord Essex, and, as soon as he came to the throne, began to show favour to the House of Devereux, and to those who had stood by that house in its adversity. Everybody was now at
30 liberty to speak out respecting those lamentable events in which Bacon had borne so large a share. Elizabeth was scarcely cold when the public feeling began to manifest itself by marks of respect towards Lord Southampton. That accomplished nobleman, who will be remembered to the latest
35 ages as the generous and discerning patron of Shakspeare, was held in honour by his contemporaries chiefly on account of the devoted affection which he had borne to Essex. He

had been tried and convicted together with his friend ; but the Queen had spared his life, and, at the time of her death, he was still a prisoner. A crowd of visitors hastened to the Tower to congratulate him on his approaching deliverance. With that crowd Bacon could not venture to mingle. The multitude loudly condemned him ; and his conscience told him that the multitude had but too much reason. He excused himself to Southampton by letter, in terms which, if he had, as Mr. Montagu conceives, done only what as a subject and an advocate he was bound to do, must be considered as shamefully servile. He owns his fear that his attendance would give offence, and that his professions of regard would obtain no credit. ' Yet,' says he, ' it is as true as a thing that God knoweth, that this great change hath wrought in me no other change towards your Lordship than this, that I may safely be that to you now which I was truly before.'

How Southampton received these apologies we are not informed. But it is certain that the general opinion was pronounced against Bacon in a manner not to be misunderstood. Soon after his marriage he put forth a defence of his conduct, in the form of a Letter to the Earl of Devon. This tract seems to us to prove only the exceeding badness of a cause for which such talents could do so little.

It is not probable that Bacon's Defence had much effect on his contemporaries. But the unfavourable impression which his conduct had made appears to have been gradually effaced. Indeed it must be some very peculiar cause that can make a man like him long unpopular. His talents secured him from contempt, his temper and his manners from hatred. There is scarcely any story so black that it may not be got over by a man of great abilities, whose abilities are united with caution, good-humour, patience, and affability, who pays daily sacrifice to Nemesis, who is a delightful companion, a serviceable though not an ardent friend, and a dangerous yet a placable enemy. Waller in the next generation was an eminent instance of this. Indeed

Waller had much more than may at first sight appear in common with Bacon. To the higher intellectual qualities of the great English philosopher, to the genius which has made an immortal epoch in the history of science, Waller had indeed no pretensions. But the mind of Waller, as far as it extended, coincided with that of Bacon, and might, so to speak, have been cut out of that of Bacon. In the qualities which make a man an object of interest and veneration to posterity, they cannot be compared together. But in the qualities by which chiefly a man is known to his contemporaries there was a striking similarity between them. Considered as men of the world, as courtiers, as politicians, as associates, as allies, as enemies, they had nearly the same merits and the same defects. They were not malignant. They were not tyrannical. But they wanted warmth of affection and elevation of sentiment. There were many things which they loved better than virtue, and which they feared more than guilt. Yet, even after they had stooped to acts of which it is impossible to read the account in the most partial narratives without strong disapprobation and contempt, the public still continue to regard them with a feeling not easily to be distinguished from esteem. The hyperbole of Juliet seemed to be verified with respect to them. 'Upon their brows shame was ashamed to sit.' Everybody seemed as desirous to throw a veil over their misconduct as if it had been his own. Clarendon, who felt, and who had reason to feel, strong personal dislike towards Waller, speaks of him thus: 'There needs no more to be said to extol the excellence and power of his wit and pleasantness of his conversation, than that it was of magnitude enough to cover a world of very great faults, that is, so to cover them that they were not taken notice of to his reproach, viz. a narrowness in his nature to the lowest degree, an abjectness and want of courage to support him in any virtuous undertaking, an insinuation and servile flattery to the height the vainest and most imperious nature could be contented with. . . . It had power to reconcile him to those whom he had most offended and provoked,

and continued to his age with that rare felicity, that his company was acceptable where his spirit was odious, and he was at least pitied where he was most detested.' Much of this, with some softening, might, we fear, be applied to Bacon. The influence of Waller's talents, manners, and accomplishments, died with him ; and the world has pronounced an unbiassed sentence on his character. A few flowing lines are not bribe sufficient to pervert the judgment of posterity. But the influence of Bacon is felt and will long be felt over the whole civilised world. Leniently as he was treated by his contemporaries, posterity has treated him more leniently still. Turn where we may, the trophies of that mighty intellect are full in view. We are judging Manlius in sight of the Capitol.

Under the reign of James, Bacon grew rapidly in fortune and favour. In 1604 he was appointed King's Counsel, with a fee of forty pounds a year ; and a pension of sixty pounds a year was settled upon him. In 1607 he became Solicitor-General, in 1612 Attorney-General. He continued to distinguish himself in Parliament, particularly by his exertions in favour of one excellent measure on which the King's heart was set, the union of England and Scotland. It was not difficult for such an intellect to discover many irresistible arguments in favour of such a scheme. He conducted the great case of the *Post Nati* in the Exchequer Chamber ; and the decision of the judges, a decision the legality of which may be questioned, but the beneficial effect of which must be acknowledged, was in a great measure attributed to his dexterous management. While actively engaged in the House of Commons and in the courts of law, he still found leisure for letters and philosophy. The noble treatise on the 'Advancement of Learning,' which at a later period was expanded into the *De Augmentis*, appeared in 1605. The 'Wisdom of the Ancients,' a work which, if it had proceeded from any other writer, would have been considered as a masterpiece of wit and learning, but which adds little to the fame of Bacon, was printed in 1609. In the meantime the

Novum Organum was slowly proceeding. Several distinguished men of learning had been permitted to see sketches or detached portions of that extraordinary book ; and, though they were not generally disposed to admit the soundness of the author's views, they spoke with the greatest admiration of his genius. Sir Thomas Bodley, the founder of one of the most magnificent of English libraries, was among those stubborn Conservatives who considered the hopes with which Bacon looked forward to the future destinies of the human race as utterly chimerical, and who regarded with distrust and aversion the innovating spirit of the new schismatics in philosophy. Yet even Bodley, after perusing the *Cogitata et Visa*, one of the most precious of those scattered leaves out of which the great oracular volume was afterwards made up, acknowledged that in 'those very points, and in all proposals and plots in that book, Bacon showed himself a master-workman ;' and that 'it could not be gainsaid but all the treatise over did abound with choice conceits of the present state of learning, and with worthy contemplations of the means to procure it.' In 1612 a new edition of the 'Essays' appeared, with additions surpassing the original collection both in bulk and quality. Nor did these pursuits distract Bacon's attention from a work the most arduous, the most glorious, and the most useful that even his mighty powers could have achieved, 'the reducing and re-compiling,' to use his own phrase, 'of the laws of England.'

Unhappily he was at that very time employed in perverting those laws to the vilest purposes of tyranny. When Oliver St. John was brought before the Star Chamber for maintaining that the King had no right to levy Benevolences, and was for his manly and constitutional conduct sentenced to imprisonment during the royal pleasure and to a fine of five thousand pounds, Bacon appeared as counsel for the prosecution. About the same time he was deeply engaged in a still more disgraceful transaction. An aged clergyman, of the name of Peacham, was accused of treason on account

of some passages of a sermon which was found in his study. The sermon, whether written by him or not, had never been preached. It did not appear that he had any intention of preaching it. The most servile lawyers of those servile times were forced to admit that there were great difficulties both as to the facts and as to the law. Bacon was employed to remove those difficulties. He was employed to settle the question of law by tampering with the judges, and the question of fact by torturing the prisoner. 5

Three judges of the Court of King's Bench were tractable. 10 But Coke was made of different stuff. Pedant, bigot, and brute as he was, he had qualities which bore a strong, though a very disagreeable, resemblance to some of the highest virtues which a public man can possess. He was an exception to a maxim which we believe to be generally true, that those who trample on the helpless are disposed to cringe to the powerful. He behaved with gross rudeness to his juniors at the bar, and with execrable cruelty to prisoners on trial for their lives. But he stood up manfully against the King and the King's favourites. No man of that age appeared to so little advantage when he was opposed to an inferior, and was in the wrong. But, on the other hand, it is but fair to admit that no man of that age made so creditable a figure when he was opposed to a superior, and happened to be in the right. On such occasions his half-suppressed insolence and his impracticable obstinacy had a respectable and interesting appearance, when compared with the abject servility of the bar and of the bench. On the present occasion he was stubborn and surly. He declared that it was a new and a highly improper practice in the judges to confer with a law-officer of the Crown about capital cases which they were afterwards to try; and for some time he resolutely kept aloof. But Bacon was equally artful and persevering. 'I am not wholly out of hope,' said he in a letter to the King, 'that my Lord Coke himself, when I have in some dark manner put him in doubt that he shall be left alone, will not be singular.' After some time Bacon's dexterity 35

was successful; and Coke, sullenly and reluctantly, followed the example of his brethren. But in order to convict Peacham it was necessary to find facts as well as law. Accordingly, this wretched old man was put to the rack, and, while undergoing the horrible infliction, was examined by Bacon, but in vain. No confession could be wrung out of him; and Bacon wrote to the King, complaining that Peacham had a dumb devil. At length the trial came on. A conviction was obtained; but the charges were so obviously futile, that the Government could not, for very shame, carry the sentence into execution; and Peacham was suffered to languish away the short remainder of his life in a prison.

All this frightful story Mr. Montagu relates fairly. He neither conceals nor distorts any material fact. But he can see nothing deserving of condemnation in Bacon's conduct. He tells us most truly that we ought not to try the men of one age by the standard of another: that Sir Matthew Hale is not to be pronounced a bad man because he left a woman to be executed for witchcraft; that posterity will not be justified in censuring judges of our time for selling offices in their courts, according to the established practice, bad as that practice was; and that Bacon is entitled to similar indulgence. 'To persecute the lover of truth,' says Mr. Montagu, 'for opposing established customs, and to censure him in after ages for not having been more strenuous in opposition, are errors which will never cease until the pleasure of self-elevation from the depression of superiority is no more.'

We have no dispute with Mr. Montagu about the general proposition. We assent to every word of it. But does it apply to the present case? Is it true that in the time of James the First it was the established practice for the law-officers of the Crown to hold private consultations with the judges, touching capital cases which those judges were afterwards to try? Certainly not. In the very page in which Mr. Montagu asserts that 'the influencing a judge out of court seems at that period scarcely to have

been considered as improper,' he gives the very words of Sir Edward Coke on the subject. 'I will not thus declare what may be my judgment by these auricular confessions of *new* and pernicious tendency, and *not according to the customs of the realm.*' Is it possible to imagine that Coke, 5
 who had himself been Attorney-General during thirteen years, who had conducted a far greater number of important State-prosecutions than any other lawyer named in English history, and who had passed with scarcely any interval from the Attorney-Generalship to the first seat in the first criminal 10
 court in the realm, could have been startled at an invitation to confer with the Crown-lawyers, and could have pronounced the practice new, if it had really been an established usage? We well know that, where property only was at stake, it was then a common though a most culpable practice, in the 15
 judges, to listen to private solicitation. But the practice of tampering with judges in order to procure capital convictions we believe to have been new, first, because Coke, who understood those matters better than any man of his time, asserted it to be new; and secondly, because neither Bacon nor 20
 Mr. Montagu has shown a single precedent.

How then stands the case? Even thus: Bacon was not conforming to an usage then generally admitted to be proper. He was not even the last lingering adherent of an old abuse. It would have been sufficiently disgraceful to such a man 25
 to be in this last situation. Yet this last situation would have been honourable compared with that in which he stood. He was guilty of attempting to introduce into the courts of law an odious abuse for which no precedent could be found. Intellectually, he was better fitted than any man 30
 that England has ever produced for the work of improving her institutions. But, unhappily, we see that he did not scruple to exert his great powers for the purpose of introducing into those institutions new corruptions of the foulest kind. 35

The same, or nearly the same, may be said of the torturing of Peacham. If it be true that in the time of James the First

the propriety of torturing prisoners was generally allowed, we should admit this as an excuse, though we should admit it less readily in the case of such a man as Bacon than in the case of an ordinary lawyer or politician. But the fact is, that the practice of torturing prisoners was then generally acknowledged by lawyers to be illegal, and was execrated by the public as barbarous. More than thirty years before Peacham's trial, that practice was so loudly condemned by the voice of the nation that Lord Burleigh found it necessary to publish an apology for having occasionally resorted to it. But though the dangers which then threatened the Government were of a very different kind from those which were to be apprehended from anything that Peacham could write, though the life of the Queen and the dearest interests of the State were in jeopardy, though the circumstances were such that all ordinary laws might seem to be superseded by that highest law, the public safety, the apology did not satisfy the country: and the Queen found it expedient to issue an order positively forbidding the torturing of State-prisoners on any pretence whatever. From that time, the practice of torturing, which had always been unpopular, which had always been illegal, had also been unusual. It is well known that in 1628, only fourteen years after the time when Bacon went to the Tower to listen to the yells of Peacham, the judges decided that Felton, a criminal who neither deserved nor was likely to obtain any extraordinary indulgence, could not lawfully be put to the question. We therefore say that Bacon stands in a very different situation from that in which Mr. Montagu tries to place him. Bacon was here distinctly behind his age. He was one of the last of the tools of power who persisted in a practice the most barbarous and the most absurd that has ever disgraced jurisprudence, in a practice of which, in the preceding generation, Elizabeth and her Ministers had been ashamed, in a practice which, a few years later, no sycophant in all the Inns of Court had the heart or the forehead to defend.¹

¹ Since this Review was written, Mr. Jardine has published a very

Bacon far behind his age! Bacon far behind Sir Edward Coke! Bacon clinging to exploded abuses! Bacon withstanding the progress of improvement! Bacon struggling to push back the human mind! The words seem strange. They sound like a contradiction in terms. Yet the fact is even so: and the explanation may be readily found by any person who is not blinded by prejudice. Mr. Montagu cannot believe that so extraordinary a man as Bacon could be guilty of a bad action; as if history were not made up of the bad actions of extraordinary men, as if all the most noted destroyers and deceivers of our species, all the founders of arbitrary governments and false religions, had not been extraordinary men, as if nine-tenths of the calamities which have befallen the human race had any other origin than the union of high intelligence with low desires.

Bacon knew this well. He has told us that there are persons '*scientia tanquam angeli alati, cupiditatibus vero tanquam serpentes qui humi reptant*;' ¹ and it did not require his admirable sagacity and his extensive converse with mankind to make the discovery. Indeed, he had only to look within. The difference between the soaring angel and the creeping snake was but a type of the difference between Bacon the philosopher and Bacon the Attorney-General, Bacon seeking for truth, and Bacon seeking for the Seals. Those who survey only one-half of his character may speak of him with unmixed admiration, or with unmixed contempt. But those only judge of him correctly who take

learned and ingenious Reading on the use of torture in England. It has not however been thought necessary to make any change in the observations on Peacham's case.

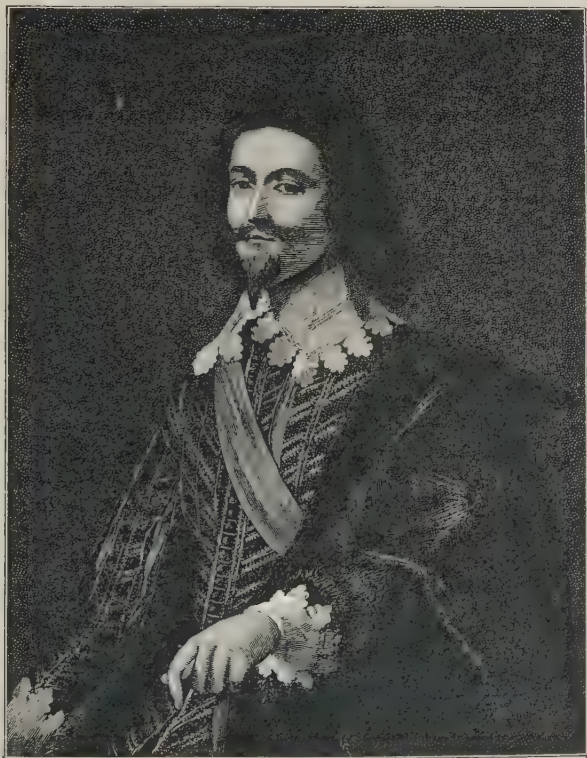
It is impossible to discuss, within the limits of a note, the extensive question raised by Mr. Jardine. It is sufficient here to say that every argument by which he attempts to show that the use of the rack was anciently a lawful exertion of royal prerogative may be urged with equal force, nay with far greater force, to prove the lawfulness of benevolences, of ship-money, of Mompesson's patent, of Eliot's imprisonment, of every abuse, without exception, which is condemned by the Petition of Right and the Declaration of Right.

¹ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 5, Cap. 1.

in at one view Bacon in speculation and Bacon in action. They will have no difficulty in comprehending how one and the same man should have been far before his age and far behind it, in one line the boldest and most useful of innovators, in another line the most obstinate champion of the foulest abuses. In his library, all his rare powers were under the guidance of an honest ambition, of an enlarged philanthropy, of a sincere love of truth. There, no temptation drew him away from the right course. Thomas Aquinas could pay no fees. Duns Scotus could confer no peerages. The Master of the Sentences had no rich reversions in his gift. Far different was the situation of the great philosopher when he came forth from his study and his laboratory to mingle with the crowd which filled the galleries of Whitehall. In all that crowd there was no man equally qualified to render great and lasting services to mankind. But in all that crowd there was not a heart more set on things which no man ought to suffer to be necessary to his happiness, on things which can often be obtained only by the sacrifice of integrity and honour. To be the leader of the human race in the career of improvement, to found on the ruins of ancient intellectual dynasties a more prosperous and a more enduring empire, to be revered by the latest generations as the most illustrious among the benefactors of mankind, all this was within his reach. But all this availed him nothing while some quibbling special pleader was promoted before him to the bench, while some heavy country gentleman took precedence of him by virtue of a purchased coronet, while some pandar, happy in a fair wife, could obtain a more cordial salute from Buckingham, while some buffoon, versed in all the latest scandal of the Court, could draw a louder laugh from James.

During a long course of years, Bacon's unworthy ambition was crowned with success. His sagacity early enabled him to perceive who was likely to become the most powerful man in the kingdom. He probably knew the King's mind before it was known to the King himself, and attached him-

self to Villiers, while the less discerning crowd of courtiers still continued to fawn on Somerset. The influence of the younger favourite became greater daily. The contest be-



GEORGE VILLIERS, FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
(From the National Portrait Gallery)

tween the rivals might, however, have lasted long, but for that frightful crime which, in spite of all that could be effected by the research and ingenuity of historians, is still

covered with so mysterious an obscurity. The descent of Somerset had been a gradual and almost imperceptible lapse. It now became a headlong fall; and Villiers, left without a competitor, rapidly rose to a height of power such as no
5 subject since Wolsey had attained.

There were many points of resemblance between the two celebrated courtiers who, at different times, extended their patronage to Bacon. It is difficult to say whether Essex or Villiers was more eminently distinguished by those graces of
10 person and manner which have always been rated in courts at much more than their real value. Both were constitutionally brave; and both, like most men who are constitutionally brave, were open and unreserved. Both were rash and headstrong. Both were destitute of the abilities
15 and of the information which are necessary to statesmen. Yet both, trusting to the accomplishments which had made them conspicuous in tilt-yards and ball-rooms, aspired to rule the State. Both owed their elevation to the personal attachment of the Sovereign; and in both cases this attach-
20 ment was of so eccentric a kind, that it perplexed observers, that it still continues to perplex historians, and that it gave rise to much scandal which we are inclined to think unfounded. Each of them treated the Sovereign whose favour he enjoyed with a rudeness which approached to insolence.
25 This petulance ruined Essex, who had to deal with a spirit naturally as proud as his own, and accustomed, during near half a century, to the most respectful observance. But there was a wide difference between the haughty daughter of Henry and her successor. James was timid from the cradle.
30 His nerves, naturally weak, had not been fortified by reflection or by habit. His life, till he came to England, had been a series of mortifications and humiliations. With all his high notions of the origin and extent of his prerogatives, he was never his own master for a day. In spite of his
35 kingly title, in spite of his despotic theories, he was to the last a slave at heart. Villiers treated him like one: and this course, though adopted, we believe, merely from temper,

succeeded as well as if it had been a system of policy formed after mature deliberation.

In generosity, in sensibility, in capacity for friendship, Essex far surpassed Buckingham. Indeed, Buckingham can scarcely be said to have had any friend, with the exception 5 of the two princes over whom successively he exercised so wonderful an influence. Essex was to the last adored by the people. Buckingham was always a most unpopular man, except perhaps for a very short time after his return from the childish visit to Spain. Essex fell a victim to the 10 rigour of the Government amidst the lamentations of the people. Buckingham, execrated by the people, and solemnly declared a public enemy by the representatives of the people, fell by the hand of one of the people, and was lamented by none but his master. 15

The way in which the two favourites acted towards Bacon was highly characteristic, and may serve to illustrate the old and true saying that a man is generally more inclined to feel kindly towards one on whom he has conferred favours than towards one from whom he has received them. Essex loaded 20 Bacon with benefits, and never thought that he had done enough. It seems never to have crossed the mind of the powerful and wealthy noble that the poor barrister whom he treated with such munificent kindness was not his equal. It was, we have no doubt, with perfect sincerity that the 25 Earl declared that he would willingly give his sister or daughter in marriage to his friend. He was in general more than sufficiently sensible of his own merits; but he did not seem to know that he had ever deserved well of Bacon. On that cruel day when they saw each other for the last time at 30 the bar of the Lords, Essex taxed his perfidious friend with unkindness and insincerity, but never with ingratitude. Even in such a moment, more bitter than the bitterness of death, that noble heart was too great to vent itself in such a reproach. 35

Villiers, on the other hand, owed much to Bacon. When their acquaintance began, Sir Francis was a man of mature

age, of high station, and of established fame as a politician, an advocate, and a writer. Villiers was little more than a boy, a younger son of a house then of no great note. He was but just entering on the career of Court favour; and
5 none but the most discerning observers could as yet perceive that he was likely to distance all his competitors. The countenance and advice of a man so highly distinguished as the Attorney-General must have been an object of the highest importance to the young adventurer. But though Villiers
10 was the obliged party, he was far less warmly attached to Bacon, and far less delicate in his conduct towards Bacon, than Essex had been.

To do the new favourite justice, he early exerted his influence in behalf of his illustrious friend. In 1616 Sir
15 Francis was sworn of the Privy Council, and in March, 1617, on the retirement of Lord Brackley, was appointed Keeper of the Great Seal.

On the seventh of May, the first day of term, he rode in state to Westminster Hall, with the Lord Treasurer on his
20 right hand, the Lord Privy Seal on his left, a long procession of students and ushers before him, and a crowd of peers, privy-councillors, and judges following in his train. Having entered his court, he addressed the splendid auditory in a grave and dignified speech, which proves how well he under-
25 stood those judicial duties which he afterwards performed so ill. Even at that moment, the proudest moment of his life in the estimation of the vulgar, and, it may be, even in his own, he cast back a look of lingering affection towards those noble pursuits from which, as it seemed, he was about to be
30 estranged. 'The depth of the three long vacations,' said he, 'I would reserve in some measure free from business of estate, and for studies, arts, and sciences, to which of my own nature I am most inclined.'

The years during which Bacon held the Great Seal were
35 among the darkest and most shameful in English history. Everything at home and abroad was mismanaged. First came the execution of Raleigh, an act which, if done in

a proper manner, might have been defensible, but which, under all the circumstances, must be considered as a dastardly murder. Worse was behind: the war of Bohemia, the successes of Tilly and Spinola, the Palatinate conquered, the King's son-in-law an exile, the house of Austria dominant 5 on the Continent, the Protestant religion and the liberties of the Germanic body trodden under foot. Meanwhile, the wavering and cowardly policy of England furnished matter of ridicule to all the nations of Europe. The love of peace which James professed would, even when indulged in 10 to an impolitic excess, have been respectable if it had proceeded from tenderness for his people. But the truth is that, while he had nothing to spare for the defence of the natural allies of England, he resorted without scruple to the most illegal and oppressive devices, for the purpose of 15 enabling Buckingham and Buckingham's relations to outshine the ancient aristocracy of the realm. Benevolences were exacted. Patents of monopoly were multiplied. All the resources which could have been employed to replenish a beggared Exchequer, at the close of a ruinous 20 war, were put in motion during this season of ignominious peace.

The vices of the administration must be chiefly ascribed to the weakness of the King and to the levity and violence of the favourite. But it is impossible to acquit the Lord Keeper 25 of all share in the guilt. For those odious patents, in particular, which passed the Great Seal while it was in his charge, he must be held answerable. In the speech which he made on first taking his seat in his court, he had pledged himself to discharge this important part of his functions with 30 the greatest caution and impartiality. He had declared that he 'would walk in the light,' 'that men should see that no particular turn or end led him, but a general rule.' Mr. Montagu would have us believe that Bacon acted up to these professions, and says that 'the power of the favourite did 35 not deter the Lord Keeper from staying grants and patents when his public duty demanded this interposition.' Does

Mr. Montagu consider patents of monopoly as good things? Or does he mean to say that Bacon stayed every patent of monopoly that came before him? Of all patents in our history, the most disgraceful was that which was granted to

5 Sir Giles Mompesson, supposed to be the original of Massinger's *Overreach*, and to Sir Francis Michell, from whom Justice Greedy is supposed to have been drawn, for the exclusive manufacturing of gold and silver lace. The effect of this monopoly was of course that the metal employed in

10 the manufacture was adulterated to the great loss of the public. But this was a trifle. The patentees were armed with powers as great as have ever been given to farmers of the revenue in the worst governed countries. They were authorised to search houses and to arrest interlopers; and

15 these formidable powers were used for purposes viler than even those for which they were given, for the wreaking of old grudges, and for the corrupting of female chastity. Was not this a case in which public duty demanded the interposition of the Lord Keeper? And did the Lord Keeper

20 interpose? He did. He wrote to inform the King, that he 'had considered of the fitness and conveniency of the gold and silver thread business,' 'that it was convenient that it should be settled,' that he 'did conceive apparent likelihood that it would redound much to his Majesty's profit,' that,

25 therefore, 'it were good it were settled with all convenient speed.' The meaning of all this was, that certain of the house of Villiers were to go shares with *Overreach* and Greedy in the plunder of the public. This was the way in which, when the favourite pressed for patents, lucrative to

30 his relations and to his creatures, ruinous and vexatious to the body of the people, the chief guardian of the laws interposed. Having assisted the patentees to obtain this monopoly, Bacon assisted them also in the steps which they took for the purpose of guarding it. He committed several people

35 to close confinement for disobeying his tyrannical edict. It is needless to say more. Our readers are now able to judge whether, in the matter of patents, Bacon acted conformably

to his professions, or deserved the praise which his biographer has bestowed on him.

In his judicial capacity his conduct was not less reprehensible. He suffered Buckingham to dictate many of his decisions. Bacon knew as well as any man that a judge 5 who listens to private solicitations is a disgrace to his post. He had himself, before he was raised to the woolsack, represented this strongly to Villiers, then just entering on his career. 'By no means,' said Sir Francis, in a letter of advice addressed to the young courtier, 'by no means be you per- 10 suaded to interpose yourself, either by word or letter, in any cause depending in any court of justice, nor suffer any great man to do it where you can hinder it. If it should prevail, it perverts justice; but, if the judge be so just and of such courage as he ought to be, as not to be inclined thereby, yet 15 it always leaves a taint of suspicion behind it.' Yet he had not been Lord Keeper a month when Buckingham began to interfere in Chancery suits; and Buckingham's interference was, as might have been expected, successful.

Mr. Montagu's reflections on the excellent passage which 20 we have quoted above are exceedingly amusing. 'No man,' says he, 'more deeply felt the evils which then existed of the interference of the Crown and of statesmen to influence judges. How beautifully did he admonish Buckingham, regardless as he proved of all admonition!' We should be 25 glad to know how it can be expected that admonition will be regarded by him who receives it when it is altogether neglected by him who gives it. We do not defend Buckingham: but what was his guilt to Bacon's? Buckingham was young, ignorant, thoughtless, dizzy with the rapidity of his 30 ascent and the height of his position. That he should be eager to serve his relations, his flatterers, his mistresses, that he should not fully apprehend the immense importance of a pure administration of justice, that he should think more about those who were bound to him by private ties than 35 about the public interest, all this was perfectly natural, and not altogether unpardonable. Those who entrust a petulant,

hot-blooded, ill-informed lad with power, are more to blame than he for the mischief which he may do with it. How could it be expected of a lively page, raised by a wild freak of fortune to the first influence in the empire, that he should
5 have bestowed any serious thought on the principles which ought to guide judicial decisions? Bacon was the ablest public man then living in Europe. He was near sixty years old. He had thought much, and to good purpose, on the general principles of law. He had for many years borne a
10 part daily in the administration of justice. It was impossible that a man with a tithe of his sagacity and experience should not have known that a judge who suffers friends or patrons to dictate his decrees violates the plainest rules of duty. In fact, as we have seen, he knew this well: he expressed it
15 admirably. Neither on this occasion nor on any other could his bad actions be attributed to any defect of the head. They sprang from quite a different cause.

A man who stooped to render such services to others was not likely to be scrupulous as to the means by which he
20 enriched himself. He and his dependents accepted large presents from persons who were engaged in Chancery suits. The amount of the plunder which he collected in this way it is impossible to estimate. There can be no doubt that he received very much more than was proved on his trial,
25 though, it may be, less than was suspected by the public. His enemies stated his illicit gains at a hundred thousand pounds. But this was probably an exaggeration.

It was long before the day of reckoning arrived. During the interval between the second and third Parliaments of
30 James, the nation was absolutely governed by the Crown. The prospects of the Lord Keeper were bright and serene. His great place rendered the splendour of his talents even more conspicuous, and gave an additional charm to the serenity of his temper, the courtesy of his manners, and the
35 eloquence of his conversation. The pillaged suitor might mutter. The austere Puritan patriot might, in his retreat, grieve that one on whom God had bestowed without measure

all the abilities which qualify men to take the lead in great reforms should be found among the adherents of the worst abuses. But the murmurs of the suitor and the lamentations of the patriot had scarcely any avenue to the ears of the powerful. The King, and the Minister who was the King's master, smiled on their illustrious flatterer. The whole crowd of courtiers and nobles sought his favour with emulous eagerness. Men of wit and learning hailed with delight the elevation of one who had so signally shown that a man of profound learning and of brilliant wit might understand, far better than any plodding dunce, the art of thriving in the world. 5 10

Once, and but once, this course of prosperity was for a moment interrupted. It should seem that even Bacon's brain was not strong enough to bear without some discomposure the inebriating effect of so much good fortune. For some time after his elevation, he showed himself a little wanting in that wariness and self-command to which, more than even to his transcendent talents, his elevation was to be ascribed. He was by no means a good hater. The temperature of his revenge, like that of his gratitude, was scarcely ever more than lukewarm. But there was one person whom he had long regarded with an animosity which, though studiously suppressed, was perhaps the stronger for the suppression. The insults and injuries which, when a young man struggling into note and professional practice, he had received from Sir Edward Coke, were such as might move the most placable nature to resentment. About the time at which Bacon received the Seals, Coke had, on account of his contumacious resistance to the royal pleasure, been deprived of his seat in the Court of King's Bench, and had ever since languished in retirement. But Coke's opposition to the Court, we fear, was the effect not of good principles, but of a bad temper. Perverse and testy as he was, he wanted true fortitude and dignity of character. His obstinacy, unsupported by virtuous motives, was not proof against disgrace. He solicited a reconciliation with the favourite, and his solicitations were 15 20 25 30 35

successful. Sir John Villiers, the brother of Buckingham, was looking out for a rich wife. Coke had a large fortune and an unmarried daughter. A bargain was struck. But Lady Coke, the lady whom twenty years before Essex had wooed
5 on behalf of Bacon, would not hear of the match. A violent and scandalous family quarrel followed. The mother carried the girl away by stealth. The father pursued them, and regained possession of his daughter by force. The King was then in Scotland, and Buckingham had attended him thither.
10 Bacon was, during their absence, at the head of affairs in England. He felt towards Coke as much malevolence as it was in his nature to feel towards anybody. His wisdom had been laid to sleep by prosperity. In an evil hour he determined to interfere in the disputes which agitated his
15 enemy's household. He declared for the wife, countenanced the Attorney-General in filing an information in the Star Chamber against the husband, and wrote letters to the King and the favourite against the proposed marriage. The strong language which he used in those letters shows that, sagacious
20 as he was, he did not quite know his place, and that he was not fully acquainted with the extent either of Buckingham's power, or of the change which the possession of that power had produced in Buckingham's character. He soon had a lesson which he never forgot. The favourite received the
25 news of the Lord Keeper's interference with feelings of the most violent resentment, and made the King even more angry than himself. Bacon's eyes were at once open to his error, and to all its possible consequences. He had been elated, if not intoxicated, by greatness. The shock sobered him in an
30 instant. He was all himself again. He apologised submissively for his interference. He directed the Attorney-General to stop the proceedings against Coke. He sent to tell Lady Coke that he could do nothing for her. He announced to both the families that he was desirous to promote the connexion. Having given these proofs of contri-
35 tion, he ventured to present himself before Buckingham. But the young upstart did not think that he had yet sufficiently

humbled an old man who had been his friend and his benefactor, who was the highest civil functionary in the realm, and the most eminent man of letters in the world. It is said that on two successive days Bacon repaired to Buckingham's house, that on two successive days he was suffered to remain 5 in an antechamber among foot-boys, seated on an old wooden box, with the Great Seal of England at his side, and that when at length he was admitted, he flung himself on the floor, kissed the favourite's feet, and vowed never to rise till he was forgiven. Sir Anthony Weldon, on whose authority 10 this story rests, is likely enough to have exaggerated the meanness of Bacon and the insolence of Buckingham. But it is difficult to imagine that so circumstantial a narrative, written by a person who avers that he was present on the occasion, can be wholly without foundation ; and, unhappily, 15 there is little in the character either of the favourite or of the Lord Keeper to make the narrative improbable. It is certain that a reconciliation took place on terms humiliating to Bacon, who never more ventured to cross any purpose of anybody who bore the name of Villiers. He put a strong curb 20 on those angry passions which had for the first time in his life mastered his prudence. He went through the forms of a reconciliation with Coke, and did his best, by seeking opportunities of paying little civilities, and by avoiding all that could produce collision, to tame the untamable ferocity of 25 his old enemy.

In the main, however, Bacon's life, while he held the Great Seal, was, in outward appearance, most enviable. In London he lived with great dignity at York House, the venerable mansion of his father. Here it was that, in January, 30 1620, he celebrated his entrance into his sixtieth year amidst a splendid circle of friends. He had then exchanged the appellation of Keeper for the higher title of Chancellor. Ben Jonson was one of the party, and wrote on the occasion some of the happiest of his rugged rhymes. All things, he tells us, 35 seemed to smile about the old house, 'the fire, the wine, the men.' The spectacle of the accomplished host, after a life

marked by no great disaster, entering on a green old age, in the enjoyment of riches, power, high honours, undiminished mental activity, and vast literary reputation, made a strong impression on the poet, if we may judge from those
 5 well-known lines

‘England’s high Chancellor, the destined heir,
 In his soft cradle, to his father’s chair,
 Whose even thread the Fates spin round and full
 Out of their choicest and their whitest wool.’

- 10 In the intervals of rest which Lord Bacon’s political and judicial functions afforded, he was in the habit of retiring to Gorhambury. At that place his business was literature, and his favourite amusement gardening, which in one of his most interesting Essays he calls the ‘purest of human pleasures.’
- 15 In his magnificent grounds he erected, at a cost of ten thousand pounds, a retreat to which he repaired when he wished to avoid all visitors, and to devote himself wholly to study. On such occasions, a few young men of distinguished talents were sometimes the companions of his retirement;
- 20 and among them his quick eye soon discerned the superior abilities of Thomas Hobbes. It is not probable, however, that he fully appreciated the powers of his disciple, or foresaw the vast influence, both for good and for evil, which that most vigorous and acute of human intellects was
- 25 destined to exercise on the two succeeding generations.

In January, 1621, Bacon had reached the zenith of his fortunes. He had just published the *Novum Organum*; and that extraordinary book had drawn forth the warmest expressions of admiration from the ablest men in Europe. He
 30 had obtained honours of a widely different kind, but perhaps not less valued by him. He had been created Baron Verulam. He had subsequently been raised to the higher dignity of Viscount St. Albans. His patent was drawn in the most flattering terms, and the Prince of Wales signed it as
 35 a witness. The ceremony of investiture was performed with great state at Theobalds, and Buckingham condescended to

be one of the chief actors. Posterity has felt that the greatest of English philosophers could derive no accession of dignity from any title which James could bestow, and, in defiance of the royal letters patent, has obstinately refused to degrade Francis Bacon into Viscount St. Albans.

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In a few weeks was signally brought to the test the value of those objects for which Bacon had sullied his integrity, had resigned his independence, had violated the most sacred obligations of friendship and gratitude, had flattered the worthless, had persecuted the innocent, had tampered with judges, had tortured prisoners, had plundered suitors, had wasted on paltry intrigues all the powers of the most exquisitely constructed intellect that has ever been bestowed on any of the children of men. A sudden and terrible reverse was at hand. A Parliament had been summoned. After six years of silence the voice of the nation was again to be heard. Only three days after the pageant which was performed at Theobalds in honour of Bacon, the Houses met.

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Want of money had, as usual, induced the King to convoke his Parliament. It may be doubted, however, whether, if he or his Ministers had been at all aware of the state of public feeling, they would not have tried any expedient, or borne with any inconvenience, rather than have ventured to face the deputies of a justly exasperated nation. But they did not discern those times. Indeed almost all the political blunders of James, and of his more unfortunate son, arose from one great error. During the fifty years which preceded the Long Parliament a great and progressive change was taking place in the public mind. The nature and extent of this change was not in the least understood by either of the first two Kings of the House of Stuart, or by any of their advisers. That the nation became more and more discontented every year, that every House of Commons was more unmanageable than that which had preceded it, were facts which it was impossible not to perceive. But the Court could not understand why these things were so. The Court

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could not see that the English people and the English Government, though they might once have been well suited to each other, were suited to each other no longer; that the nation had outgrown its old institutions, was every day more
5 uneasy under them, was pressing against them, and would soon burst through them. The alarming phenomena, the existence of which no sycophant could deny, were ascribed to every cause except the true one. 'In my first Parliament,' said James, 'I was a novice. In my next, there was a kind
10 of beasts called undertakers,' and so forth. In the third Parliament he could hardly be called a novice, and those beasts, the undertakers, did not exist. Yet his third Parliament gave him more trouble than either the first or the second.

15 The Parliament had no sooner met than the House of Commons proceeded, in a temperate and respectful, but most determined manner, to discuss the public grievances. Their first attacks were directed against those odious patents, under cover of which Buckingham and his creatures had pillaged
20 and oppressed the nation. The vigour with which these proceedings were conducted spread dismay through the Court. Buckingham thought himself in danger, and, in his alarm, had recourse to an adviser who had lately acquired considerable influence over him, Williams, Dean of West-
25 minster. This person had already been of great use to the favourite in a very delicate matter. Buckingham had set his heart on marrying Lady Catherine Manners, daughter and heiress of the Earl of Rutland. But the difficulties were great. The Earl was haughty and impracticable, and the
30 young lady was a Catholic. Williams soothed the pride of the father, and found arguments which, for a time at least, quieted the conscience of the daughter. For these services he had been rewarded with considerable preferment in the Church; and he was now rapidly rising to the same place in
35 the regard of Buckingham which had formerly been occupied by Bacon.

Williams was one of those who are wiser for others than

for themselves. His own public life was unfortunate, and was made unfortunate by his strange want of judgment and self-command at several important conjunctures. But the counsel which he gave on this occasion showed no want of worldly wisdom. He advised the favourite to abandon all thoughts of defending the monopolies, to find some foreign embassy for his brother Sir Edward, who was deeply implicated in the villanies of Mompesson, and to leave the other offenders to the justice of Parliament. Buckingham received this advice with the warmest expressions of gratitude, and declared that a load had been lifted from his heart. He then repaired with Williams to the royal presence. They found the King engaged in earnest consultation with Prince Charles. The plan of operations proposed by the Dean was fully discussed, and approved in all its parts.

The first victims whom the Court abandoned to the vengeance of the Commons were Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michell. It was some time before Bacon began to entertain any apprehensions. His talents and his address gave him great influence in the house of which he had lately become a member, as indeed they must have done in any assembly. In the House of Commons he had many personal friends and many warm admirers. But at length, about six weeks after the meeting of Parliament, the storm burst.

A committee of the Lower House had been appointed to inquire into the state of the Courts of Justice. On the fifteenth of March the chairman of that committee, Sir Robert Philips, member for Bath, reported that great abuses had been discovered. 'The person,' said he, 'against whom these things are alleged is no less than the Lord Chancellor, a man so endued with all parts, both of nature and art, as that I will say no more of him, being not able to say enough.' Sir Robert then proceeded to state, in the most temperate manner, the nature of the charges. A person of the name of Aubrey had a case depending in Chancery. He had been almost ruined by law-expenses, and his patience had been exhausted by the delays of the court. He received a hint from some of

the hangers-on of the Chancellor that a present of one hundred pounds would expedite matters. The poor man had not the sum required. However, having found out an usurer who accommodated him with it at high interest, he carried it to
5 York House. The Chancellor took the money, and his dependents assured the suitor that all would go right. Aubrey was, however, disappointed; for, after considerable delay, 'a killing decree' was pronounced against him. Another suitor of the name of Egerton complained that he had been induced
10 by two of the Chancellor's jackals to make his Lordship a present of four hundred pounds, and that, nevertheless, he had not been able to obtain a decree in his favour. The evidence to these facts was overwhelming. Bacon's friends could only entreat the House to suspend its judgment, and
15 to send up the case to the Lords, in a form less offensive than an impeachment.

On the nineteenth of March the King sent a message to the Commons, expressing his deep regret that so eminent a person as the Chancellor should be suspected of misconduct.
20 His Majesty declared that he had no wish to screen the guilty from justice, and proposed to appoint a new kind of tribunal, consisting of eighteen commissioners, who might be chosen from among the members of the two Houses, to investigate the matter. The Commons were not disposed to
25 depart from their regular course of proceeding. On the same day they held a conference with the Lords, and delivered in the heads of the accusation against the Chancellor. At this conference Bacon was not present. Overwhelmed with shame and remorse, and abandoned by all those in whom he
30 had weakly put his trust, he had shut himself up in his chamber from the eyes of men. The dejection of his mind soon disordered his body. Buckingham, who visited him by the King's order, 'found his Lordship very sick and heavy.' It appears from a pathetic letter which the unhappy
35 man addressed to the Peers on the day of the conference, that he neither expected nor wished to survive his disgrace. During several days he remained in his bed, refusing to see

any human being. He passionately told his attendants to leave him, to forget him, never again to name his name, never to remember that there had been such a man in the world. In the meantime, fresh instances of corruption were every day brought to the knowledge of his accusers. The number of charges rapidly increased from two to twenty-three. The Lords entered on the investigation of the case with laudable alacrity. Some witnesses were examined at the bar of the House. A select committee was appointed to take the depositions of others; and the inquiry was rapidly proceeding, when, on the twenty-sixth of March, the King adjourned the Parliament for three weeks. 5 10

This measure revived Bacon's hopes. He made the most of his short respite. He attempted to work on the feeble mind of the King. He appealed to all the strongest feelings of James, to his fears, to his vanity, to his high notions of prerogative. Would the Solomon of the age commit so gross an error as to encourage the encroaching spirit of Parliaments? Would God's anointed, accountable to God alone, pay homage to the clamorous multitude? 'Those,' exclaimed Bacon, 'who now strike at the Chancellor will soon strike at the Crown. I am the first sacrifice. I wish I may be the last.' But all his eloquence and address were employed in vain. Indeed, whatever Mr. Montagu may say, we are firmly convinced that it was not in the King's power to save Bacon, without having recourse to measures which would have convulsed the realm. The Crown had not sufficient influence over the Parliament to procure an acquittal in so clear a case of guilt. And to dissolve a Parliament which is universally allowed to have been one of the best Parliaments that ever sat, which had acted liberally and respectfully towards the Sovereign, and which enjoyed in the highest degree the favour of the people, only in order to stop a grave, temperate, and constitutional inquiry into the personal integrity of the first judge in the kingdom, would have been a measure more scandalous and absurd than any of those which were the ruin of the House 15 20 25 30 35

of Stuart. Such a measure, while it would have been as fatal to the Chancellor's honour as a conviction, would have endangered the very existence of the monarchy. The King, acting by the advice of Williams, very properly refused to
5 engage in a dangerous struggle with his people, for the purpose of saving from legal condemnation a minister whom it was impossible to save from dishonour. He advised Bacon to plead guilty, and promised to do all in his power to mitigate the punishment. Mr. Montagu is exceedingly angry with
10 James on this account. But though we are, in general, very little inclined to admire that Prince's conduct, we really think that his advice was, under all the circumstances, the best advice that could have been given.

On the seventeenth of April the Houses reassembled, and
15 the Lords resumed their inquiries into the abuses of the Court of Chancery. On the twenty-second, Bacon addressed to the Peers a letter, which the Prince of Wales condescended to deliver. In this artful and pathetic composition, the Chancellor acknowledged his guilt in guarded and
20 general terms, and, while acknowledging, endeavoured to palliate it. This, however, was not thought sufficient by his judges. They required a more particular confession, and sent him a copy of the charges. On the thirtieth, he delivered a paper in which he admitted, with few and unim-
25 portant reservations, the truth of the accusations brought against him, and threw himself entirely on the mercy of his peers. 'Upon advised consideration of the charges,' said he, 'descending into my own conscience, and calling my memory to account so far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuously
30 confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence.'

The Lords came to a resolution that the Chancellor's confession appeared to be full and ingenuous, and sent a committee to inquire of him whether it was really subscribed
35 by himself. The deputies, among whom was Southampton, the common friend, many years before, of Bacon and Essex, performed their duty with great delicacy. Indeed the ago-

nies of such a mind and the degradation of such a name might well have softened the most obdurate natures. 'My Lords,' said Bacon, 'it is my act, my hand, my heart. I beseech your Lordships to be merciful to a broken reed.' They withdrew; and he again retired to his chamber in the deepest dejection. The next day, the sergeant-at-arms and the usher of the House of Lords came to conduct him to Westminster Hall, where sentence was to be pronounced. But they found him so unwell that he could not leave his bed; and this excuse for his absence was readily accepted. In no quarter does there appear to have been the smallest desire to add to his humiliation.

The sentence was, however, severe, the more severe, no doubt, because the Lords knew that it would not be executed, and that they had an excellent opportunity of exhibiting, at small cost, the inflexibility of their justice, and their abhorrence of corruption. Bacon was condemned to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure. He was declared incapable of holding any office in the State or of sitting in Parliament; and he was banished for life from the verge of the court. In such misery and shame ended that long career of worldly wisdom and worldly prosperity.

Even at this pass Mr. Montagu does not desert his hero. He seems indeed to think that the attachment of an editor ought to be as devoted as that of Mr. Moore's lovers; and cannot conceive what biography was made for,

'if 'tis not the same
Through joy and through torment, through glory and shame.'

He assures us that Bacon was innocent, that he had the means of making a perfectly satisfactory defence, that when he 'plainly and ingenuously confessed that he was guilty of corruption,' and when he afterwards solemnly affirmed that his confession was 'his act, his hand, his heart,' he was telling a great lie, and that he refrained from bringing forward proofs of his innocence because he durst not dis-

obey the King and the favourite, who, for their own selfish objects, pressed him to plead guilty.

- Now, in the first place, there is not the smallest reason to believe that, if James and Buckingham had thought that
- 5 Bacon had a good defence, they would have prevented him from making it. What conceivable motive had they for doing so? Mr. Montagu perpetually repeats that it was their interest to sacrifice Bacon. But he overlooks an obvious distinction. It was their interest to sacrifice Bacon
- 10 on the supposition of his guilt, but not on the supposition of his innocence. James was very properly unwilling to run the risk of protecting his Chancellor against the Parliament. But if the Chancellor had been able, by force of argument, to obtain an acquittal from the Parliament, we have no doubt
- 15 that both the King and Villiers would have heartily rejoiced. They would have rejoiced, not merely on account of their friendship for Bacon, which seems, however, to have been as sincere as most friendships of that sort, but on selfish grounds. Nothing could have strengthened the government
- 20 more than such a victory. The King and the favourite abandoned the Chancellor because they were unable to avert his disgrace, and unwilling to share it. Mr. Montagu mistakes effect for cause. He thinks that Bacon did not prove his innocence, because he was not supported by the Court.
- 25 The truth evidently is that the Court did not venture to support Bacon, because he could not prove his innocence.

- Again, it seems strange that Mr. Montagu should not perceive that, while attempting to vindicate Bacon's reputation, he is really casting on it the foulest of all aspersions.
- 30 He imputes to his idol a degree of meanness and depravity more loathsome than judicial corruption itself. A corrupt judge may have many good qualities. But a man who, to please a powerful patron, solemnly declares himself guilty of corruption when he knows himself to be innocent, must be a
- 35 monster of servility and impudence. Bacon was, to say nothing of his highest claims to respect, a gentleman, a nobleman, a scholar, a statesman, a man of the first consideration

in society, a man far advanced in years. Is it possible to believe that such a man would, to gratify any human being, irreparably ruin his own character by his own act? Imagine a grey-headed judge, full of years and honours, owning with tears, with pathetic assurances of his penitence and of his sincerity, that he has been guilty of shameful malpractices, repeatedly asseverating the truth of his confession, subscribing it with his own hand, submitting to conviction, receiving a humiliating sentence and acknowledging its justice, and all this when he has it in his power to show that his conduct has been irreproachable! The thing is incredible. But if we admit it to be true, what must we think of such a man, if indeed he deserves the name of man, who thinks anything that kings and minions can bestow more precious than honour, or anything that they can inflict more terrible than infamy?

Of this most disgraceful imputation we fully acquit Bacon. He had no defence; and Mr. Montagu's affectionate attempt to make a defence for him has altogether failed.

The grounds on which Mr. Montagu rests the case are two: the first, that the taking of presents was usual, and, what he seems to consider as the same thing, not discreditable: the second, that these presents were not taken as bribes.

Mr. Montagu brings forward many facts in support of his first proposition. He is not content with showing that many English judges formerly received gifts from suitors, but collects similar instances from foreign nations and ancient times. He goes back to the commonwealths of Greece, and attempts to press into his service a line of Homer and a sentence of Plutarch, which, we fear, will hardly serve his turn. The gold of which Homer speaks was not intended to fee the judges, but was paid into court for the benefit of the successful litigant; and the gratuities which Pericles, as Plutarch states, distributed among the members of the Athenian tribunals, were legal wages paid out of the public revenue. We can supply Mr. Montagu with passages much

- more in point. Hesiod, who, like poor Aubrey, had a 'killing decree' made against him in the Chancery of Ascrea, forgot decorum so far that he ventured to designate the learned persons who presided in that court, as βασιλῆας
- 5 *ἐωροφάγους*. Plutarch and Diodorus have handed down to the latest ages the respectable name of Anytus, the son of Anthemion, the first defendant who, eluding all the safeguards which the ingenuity of Solon could devise, succeeded in corrupting a bench of Athenian judges. We are indeed so
- 10 far from grudging Mr. Montagu the aid of Greece, that we will give him Rome into the bargain. We acknowledge that the honourable senators who tried Verres received presents which were worth more than the fee-simple of York House and Gorhambury together, and that the no less honourable sena-
- 15 tors and knights who professed to believe in the *alibi* of Clodius obtained marks still more extraordinary of the esteem and gratitude of the defendant. In short, we are ready to admit that, before Bacon's time, and in Bacon's time, judges were in the habit of receiving gifts from suitors.
- 20 But is this a defence? We think not. The robberies of Cacus and Barabbas are no apology for those of Turpin. The conduct of the two men of Belial who swore away the life of Naboth has never been cited as an excuse for the perjuries of Oates and Dangerfield. Mr. Montagu has con-
- 25 founded two things which it is necessary carefully to distinguish from each other, if we wish to form a correct judgment of the characters of men of other countries and other times. That an immoral action is, in a particular society, generally considered as innocent, is a good plea for
- 30 an individual who, being one of that society, and having adopted the notions which prevail among his neighbours, commits that action. But the circumstance that a great many people are in the habit of committing immoral actions is no plea at all. We should think it unjust to call St. Louis
- 35 a wicked man, because, in an age in which toleration was generally regarded as a sin, he persecuted heretics. We should think it unjust to call Cowper's friend, John Newton,

a hypocrite and monster, because, at a time when the slave-trade was commonly considered by the most respectable people as an innocent and beneficial traffic, he went, largely provided with hymn-books and handcuffs, on a Guinea voyage. But the circumstance that there are twenty thousand thieves in London is no excuse for a fellow who is caught breaking into a shop. No man is to be blamed for not making discoveries in morality, for not finding out that something which everybody else thinks to be good is really bad. But, if a man does that which he and all around him know to be bad, it is no excuse for him that many others have done the same. We should be ashamed of spending so much time in pointing out so clear a distinction, but that Mr. Montagu seems altogether to overlook it.

Now, to apply these principles to the case before us ; let Mr. Montagu prove that, in Bacon's age, the practices for which Bacon was punished were generally considered as innocent ; and we admit that he has made out his point. But this we defy him to do. That these practices were common we admit. But they were common just as all wickedness to which there is strong temptation always was and always will be common. They were common just as theft, cheating, perjury, adultery have always been common. They were common, not because people did not know what was right, but because people liked to do what was wrong. They were common, though prohibited by law. They were common, though condemned by public opinion. They were common, because in that age law and public opinion united had not sufficient force to restrain the greediness of powerful and unprincipled magistrates. They were common, as every crime will be common when the gain to which it leads is great, and the chance of punishment small. But, though common, they were universally allowed to be altogether unjustifiable ; they were in the highest degree odious ; and, though many were guilty of them, none had the audacity publicly to avow and defend them.

We could give a thousand proofs that the opinion then

entertained concerning these practices was such as we have described. But we will content ourselves with calling a single witness, honest Hugh Latimer. His sermons, preached more than seventy years before the inquiry into Bacon's conduct, abound with the sharpest invectives against those very practices of which Bacon was guilty, and which, as Mr.



HUGH LATIMER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER
(From the National Portrait Gallery)

Montagu seems to think, nobody ever considered as blamable till Bacon was punished for them. We could easily fill twenty pages with the homely, but just and forcible, rhetoric of the brave old bishop. We shall select a few passages as fair specimens, and no more than fair specimens, of the rest.

‘*Omnes diligunt munera.* They all love bribes. Bribery is
 a princely kind of thieving. They will be waged by the
 rich, either to give sentence against the poor, or to put off
 the poor man’s cause. This is the noble theft of princes
 and magistrates. They are bribe-takers. Nowadays they 5
 call them gentle rewards. Let them leave their colouring,
 and call them by their Christian name—bribes.’ And again :
 ‘Cambyses was a great emperor, such another as our master
 is. He had many lord deputies, lord presidents, and lieu-
 tenants under him. It is a great while ago since I read the 10
 history. It chanced he had under him in one of his dominions
 a briber, a gift-taker, a gratifier of rich men : he followed
 gifts as fast as he that followed the pudding, a handmaker
 in his office to make his son a great man, as the old saying
 is : Happy is the child whose father goeth to the devil. The 15
 cry of the poor widow came to the emperor’s ear, and caused
 him to flay the judge quick, and laid his skin in the chair
 of judgment, that all judges that should give judgment
 afterward should sit in the same skin. Surely it was a
 goodly sign, a goodly monument, the sign of the judge’s 20
 skin. I pray God we may once see the skin in England.’
 ‘I am sure,’ says he in another sermon, ‘this is *scala inferni*,
 the right way to hell, to be covetous, to take bribes, and
 pervert justice. If a judge should ask me the way to hell,
 I would show him this way. First, let him be a covetous 25
 man ; let his heart be poisoned with covetousness. Then
 let him go a little further and take bribes ; and, lastly,
 pervert judgment. Lo, here is the mother, and the daughter,
 and the daughter’s daughter. Avarice is the mother : she
 brings forth bribe-taking, and bribe-taking perverting of 30
 judgment. There lacks a fourth thing to make up the mess,
 which, so help me God, if I were judge, should be *hangum*
tuum, a Tyburn tippet to take with him ; an it were the
 judge of the King’s Bench, my Lord Chief Judge of England,
 yea, an it were my Lord Chancellor himself, to Tyburn with 35
 him.’ We will quote but one more passage. ‘He that took
 the silver basin and ewer for a bribe, thinketh that it will

never come out. But he may now know that I know it, and I know it not alone ; there be more beside me that know it. Oh, briber and bribery ! He was never a good man that will so take bribes. Nor can I believe that he that is a
 5 briber will be a good justice. It will never be merry in England till we have the skins of such. For what needeth bribing where men do their things uprightly ?

This was not the language of a great philosopher who had made new discoveries in moral and political science.
 10 It was the plain talk of a plain man, who sprang from the body of the people, who sympathised strongly with their wants and their feelings, and who boldly uttered their opinions. It was on account of the fearless way in which stout-hearted old Hugh exposed the misdeeds of men in
 15 ermine tippets and gold collars, that the Londoners cheered him, as he walked down the Strand to preach at Whitehall, struggled for a touch of his gown, and bawled ‘ Have at them, Father Latimer.’ It is plain, from the passages which we have quoted, and from fifty others which we might quote,
 20 that, long before Bacon was born, the accepting of presents by a judge was known to be a wicked and shameful act, that the fine words under which it was the fashion to veil such corrupt practices were even then seen through by the common people, that the distinction on which Mr. Montagu
 25 insists between compliments and bribes was even then laughed at as a mere colouring. There may be some oratorical exaggeration in what Latimer says about the Tyburn tippet and the sign of the judge’s skin ; but the fact that he ventured to use such expressions is amply sufficient
 30 to prove that the gift-taking judges, the receivers of silver basins and ewers, were regarded as such pests of the commonwealth that a venerable divine might, without any breach of Christian charity, publicly pray to God for their detection and their condign punishment.

35 Mr. Montagu tells us, most justly, that we ought not to transfer the opinions of our age to a former age. But he has himself committed a greater error than that against

which he has cautioned his readers. Without any evidence, nay, in the face of the strongest evidence, he ascribes to the people of a former age a set of opinions which no people ever held. But any hypothesis is in his view more probable than that Bacon should have been a dishonest man. 5
 We firmly believe that, if papers were to be discovered which should irresistibly prove that Bacon was concerned in the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, Mr. Montagu would tell us that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was not thought improper in a man to put arsenic into the broth 10
 of his friends, and that we ought to blame, not Bacon, but the age in which he lived.

But why should we have recourse to any other evidence, when the proceeding against Lord Bacon is itself the best evidence on the subject? When Mr. Montagu tells us that 15
 we ought not to transfer the opinions of our age to Bacon's age, he appears altogether to forget that it was by men of Bacon's own age that Bacon was prosecuted, tried, convicted, and sentenced. Did not they know what their own opinions were? Did not they know whether they thought the taking 20
 of gifts by a judge a crime or not? Mr. Montagu complains bitterly that Bacon was induced to abstain from making a defence. But, if Bacon's defence resembled that which is made for him in the volume before us, it would have been unnecessary to trouble the Houses with it. The Lords and 25
 Commons did not want Bacon to tell them the thoughts of their own hearts, to inform them that they did not consider such practices as those in which they had detected him as at all culpable. Mr. Montagu's proposition may indeed be fairly stated thus:—It was very hard that Bacon's con- 30
 temporaries should think it wrong in him to do what they did not think it wrong in him to do. Hard indeed; and withal somewhat improbable. Will any person say that the Commons who impeached Bacon for taking presents, and the Lords who sentenced him to fine, imprisonment and 35
 degradation for taking presents, did not know that the taking of presents was a crime? Or, will any person say that

WITHDRAWN ^G

Bacon did not know what the whole House of Commons and the whole House of Lords knew? Nobody who is not prepared to maintain one of these absurd propositions can deny that Bacon committed what he knew to be a crime.

5 It cannot be pretended that the Houses were seeking occasion to ruin Bacon, and that they therefore brought him to punishment on charges which they themselves knew to be frivolous. In no quarter was there the faintest indication of a disposition to treat him harshly. Through the whole
10 proceeding there was no symptom of personal animosity or of factious violence in either House. Indeed, we will venture to say that no State Trial in our history is more creditable to all who took part in it, either as prosecutors or judges. The decency, the gravity, the public spirit, the justice
15 moderated but not unnerved by compassion, which appeared in every part of the transaction, would do honour to the most respectable public men of our own times. The accusers, while they discharged their duty to their constituents by bringing the misdeeds of the Chancellor to light, spoke with
20 admiration of his many eminent qualities. The Lords, while condemning him, complimented him on the ingenuousness of his confession, and spared him the humiliation of a public appearance at their bar. So strong was the contagion of good feeling that even Sir Edward Coke, for the first time
25 in his life, behaved like a gentleman. No criminal ever had more temperate prosecutors than Bacon. No criminal ever had more favourable judges. If he was convicted, it was because it was impossible to acquit him without offering the grossest outrage to justice and common sense.

30 Mr. Montagu's other argument, namely, that Bacon, though he took gifts, did not take bribes, seems to us as futile as that which we have considered. Indeed, we might be content to leave it to be answered by the plainest man among our readers. Demosthenes noticed it with contempt
35 more than two thousand years ago. Latimer, we have seen, treated this sophistry with similar disdain. 'Leave colouring,' said he, 'and call these things by their Christian name,

bribes.' Mr. Montagu attempts, somewhat unfairly, we must say, to represent the presents which Bacon received as similar to the perquisites which suitors paid to the members of the Parliaments of France. The French magistrate had a legal right to his fee; and the amount of the fee was regulated by law. Whether this be a good mode of remunerating judges is not the question. But what analogy is there between payments of this sort and the presents which Bacon received, presents which were not sanctioned by the law, which were not made under the public eye, and of which the amount was regulated only by private bargain between the magistrate and the suitor?

Again, it is mere trifling to say that Bacon could not have meant to act corruptly, because he employed the agency of men of rank, of bishops, privy-councillors, and members of Parliament; as if the whole history of that generation was not full of the low actions of high people; as if it was not notorious that men, as exalted in rank as any of the decoys that Bacon employed, had pimped for Somerset, and poisoned Overbury.

But, says Mr. Montagu, these presents 'were made openly and with the greatest publicity.' This would indeed be a strong argument in favour of Bacon. But we deny the fact. In one, and one only, of the cases in which Bacon was accused of corruptly receiving gifts, does he appear to have received a gift publicly. This was in a matter depending between the Company of Apothecaries and the Company of Grocers. Bacon, in his Confession, insisted strongly on the circumstance that he had on this occasion taken a present publicly, as a proof that he had not taken it corruptly. Is it not clear that, if he had taken the presents mentioned in the other charges in the same public manner, he would have dwelt on this point in his answer to those charges? The fact that he insists so strongly on the publicity of one particular present is of itself sufficient to prove that the other presents were not publicly taken. Why he took this present publicly and the

rest secretly, is evident. He on that occasion acted openly, because he was acting honestly. He was not on that occasion sitting judicially. He was called in to effect an amicable arrangement between two parties. Both were
 5 satisfied with his decision. Both joined in making him a present in return for his trouble. Whether it was quite delicate in a man of his rank to accept a present under such circumstances may be questioned. But there is no ground in this case for accusing him of corruption.

10 Unhappily, the very circumstances which prove him to have been innocent in this case prove him to have been guilty on the other charges. Once, and once only, he alleges that he received a present publicly. The natural inference is that in all the other cases mentioned in the articles against
 15 him he received presents secretly. When we examine the single case in which he alleges that he received a present publicly, we find that it is also the single case in which there was no gross impropriety in his receiving a present. Is it then possible to doubt that his reason for not receiving other
 20 presents in as public a manner was that he knew that it was wrong to receive them?

One argument still remains, plausible in appearance, but admitting of easy and complete refutation. The two chief complainants, Aubrey and Egerton, had both made presents
 25 to the Chancellor. But he had decided against them both. Therefore he had not received those presents as bribes. 'The complaints of his accusers were,' says Mr. Montagu, 'not that the gratuities had, but that they had not influenced Bacon's judgment, as he had decided against them.'

30 The truth is, that it is precisely in this way that an extensive system of corruption is generally detected. A person who, by a bribe, has procured a decree in his favour, is by no means likely to come forward of his own accord as an accuser. He is content. He has his *quid pro quo*. He
 35 is not impelled either by interested or by vindictive motives to bring the transaction before the public. On the contrary, he has almost as strong motives for holding his tongue as

the judge himself can have. But when a judge practises corruption, as we fear that Bacon practised it, on a large scale, and has many agents looking out in different quarters for prey, it will sometimes happen that he will be bribed on both sides. It will sometimes happen that he will receive money from suitors who are so obviously in the wrong that he cannot with decency do anything to serve them. Thus he will now and then be forced to pronounce against a person from whom he has received a present; and he makes that person a deadly enemy. The hundreds who have got what they paid for remain quiet. It is the two or three who have paid, and have nothing to show for their money, who are noisy.

The memorable case of the Goëzmanns is an example of this. Beaumarchais had an important suit depending before the Parliament of Paris. M. Goëzman was the judge on whom chiefly the decision depended. It was hinted to Beaumarchais that Madame Goëzman might be propitiated by a present. He accordingly offered a purse of gold to the lady, who received it graciously. There can be no doubt that, if the decision of the court had been favourable to him, these things would never have been known to the world. But he lost his cause. Almost the whole sum which he had expended in bribery was immediately refunded; and those who had disappointed him probably thought that he would not, for the mere gratification of his malevolence, make public a transaction which was discreditable to himself as well as to them. They knew little of him. He soon taught them to curse the day in which they had dared to trifle with a man of so revengeful and turbulent a spirit, of such dauntless effrontery, and of such eminent talents for controversy and satire. He compelled the Parliament to put a degrading stigma on M. Goëzman. He drove Madame Goëzman to a convent. Till it was too late to pause, his excited passions did not suffer him to remember that he could effect their ruin only by disclosures ruinous to himself. We could give other instances. But it is needless. No

person well acquainted with human nature can fail to perceive that, if the doctrine for which Mr. Montagu contends were admitted, society would be deprived of almost the only chance which it has of detecting the corrupt practices of judges.

- 5 We return to our narrative. The sentence of Bacon had scarcely been pronounced when it was mitigated. He was indeed sent to the Tower. But this was merely a form. In two days he was set at liberty, and soon after he retired to Gorhambury. His fine was speedily released by the Crown.
- 10 He was next suffered to present himself at Court; and at length, in 1624, the rest of his punishment was remitted. He was now at liberty to resume his seat in the House of Lords, and he was actually summoned to the next Parliament. But age, infirmity, and perhaps shame, prevented him from attending.
- 15 The Government allowed him a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year; and his whole annual income is estimated by Mr. Montagu at two thousand five hundred pounds, a sum which was probably above the average income of a nobleman of that generation, and which was certainly
- 20 sufficient for comfort and even for splendour. Unhappily, Bacon was fond of display, and unused to pay minute attention to domestic affairs. He was not easily persuaded to give up any part of the magnificence to which he had been accustomed in the time of his power and prosperity. No
- 25 pressure of distress could induce him to part with the woods of Gorhambury. 'I will not,' he said, 'be stripped of my feathers.' He travelled with so splendid an equipage and so large a retinue that Prince Charles, who once fell in with him on the road, exclaimed with surprise, 'Well; do what we
- 30 can, this man scorns to go out in snuff.' This carelessness and ostentation reduced Bacon to frequent distress. He was under the necessity of parting with York House, and of taking up his residence, during his visits to London, at his old Chambers in Gray's Inn. He had other vexations, the exact
- 35 nature of which is unknown. It is evident from his will that some part of his wife's conduct had greatly disturbed and irritated him.

But, whatever might be his pecuniary difficulties or his conjugal discomfords, the powers of his intellect still remained undiminished. Those noble studies for which he had found leisure in the midst of professional drudgery and of courtly intrigues gave to this last sad stage of his life a dignity beyond what power or titles could bestow. Impeached, convicted, sentenced, driven with ignominy from the presence of his Sovereign, shut out from the deliberations of his fellow nobles, loaded with debt, branded with dishonour, sinking under the weight of years, sorrows, and diseases, Bacon was Bacon still. 'My conceit of his person,' says Ben Jonson very finely, 'was never increased towards him by his place or honours; but I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself; in that he seemed to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest men and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed that God would give him strength; for greatness he could not want.'

The services which Bacon rendered to letters during the last five years of his life, amidst ten thousand distractions and vexations, increase the regret with which we think on the many years which he had wasted, to use the words of Sir Thomas Bodley, 'on such study as was not worthy of such a student.' He commenced a Digest of the Laws of England, a History of England under the Princes of the House of Tudor, a body of Natural History, a Philosophical Romance. He made extensive and valuable additions to his Essays. He published the inestimable Treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. The very trifles with which he amused himself in hours of pain and languor bore the mark of his mind. The best collection of jests in the world is that which he dictated from memory, without referring to any book, on a day on which illness had rendered him incapable of serious study.

The great apostle of experimental philosophy was destined to be its martyr. It had occurred to him that snow might be used with advantage for the purpose of preventing animal substances from putrefying. On a very cold day, early in

the spring of the year 1626, he alighted from his coach near Highgate, in order to try the experiment. He went into a cottage, bought a fowl, and with his own hands stuffed it with snow. While thus engaged he felt a sudden chill, and
5 was soon so much indisposed that it was impossible for him to return to Gray's Inn. The Earl of Arundel, with whom he was well acquainted, had a house at Highgate. To that house Bacon was carried. The Earl was absent; but the servants who were in charge of the place showed great
10 respect and attention to the illustrious guest. Here, after an illness of about a week, he expired early on the morning of Easter-day, 1626. His mind appears to have retained its strength and liveliness to the end. He did not forget the fowl which had caused his death. In the last letter that he
15 ever wrote, with fingers which, as he said, could not steadily hold a pen, he did not omit to mention that the experiment of the snow had succeeded 'excellently well.'

Our opinion of the moral character of this great man has already been sufficiently explained. Had his life been passed
20 in literary retirement, he would, in all probability, have deserved to be considered, not only as a great philosopher, but as a worthy and good-natured member of society. But neither his principles nor his spirit were such as could be trusted, when strong temptations were to be resisted, and
25 serious dangers to be braved.

In his will he expressed with singular brevity, energy, dignity, and pathos, a mournful consciousness that his actions had not been such as to entitle him to the esteem of those under whose observation his life had been passed, and, at the
30 same time, a proud confidence that his writings had secured for him a high and permanent place among the benefactors of mankind. So at least we understand those striking words which have been often quoted, but which we must quote
once more: 'For my name and memory, I leave it to men's
35 charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and to the next age.'

His confidence was just. From the day of his death

his fame has been constantly and steadily progressive ; and we have no doubt that his name will be named with reverence to the latest ages, and to the remotest ends of the civilised world.

The chief peculiarity of Bacon's philosophy seems to us to have been this, that it aimed at things altogether different from those which his predecessors had proposed to themselves. This was his own opinion. 'Finis scientiarum,' says he, 'a nemine adhuc bene positus est.'¹ And again, 'Omnium gravissimus error in deviatione ab ultimo doctrinarum fine consistit.'² 'Nec ipsa meta,' says he elsewhere, 'adhuc ulli, quod sciam, mortalium posita est et defixa.'³ The more carefully his works are examined, the more clearly, we think, it will appear that this is the real clue to his whole system, and that he used means different from those used by other philosophers, because he wished to arrive at an end altogether different from theirs.

What then was the end which Bacon proposed to himself? It was, to use his own emphatic expression, 'fruit.' It was the multiplying of human enjoyments and the mitigating of human sufferings. It was 'the relief of man's estate.'⁴ It was 'commodis humanis inservire.'⁵ It was 'efficaciter operari ad sublevanda vitæ humanæ incommoda.'⁶ It was 'dotare vitam humanam novis inventis et copiis.'⁷ It was 'genus humanum novis operibus et potestatibus continuo dotare.'⁸ This was the object of all his speculations in every department of science, in natural philosophy, in legislation, in politics, in morals.

Two words form the key of the Baconian doctrine, Utility and Progress. The ancient philosophy disdained to be useful, and was content to be stationary. It dealt largely in theories of moral perfection, which were so sublime that they never could be more than theories ; in attempts to solve

¹ *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1. Aph. 81.

² *De Augmentis*, Lib. 1.

³ *Cogitata et Visa*.

⁴ *Advancement of Learning*, Book 1.

⁵ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 7. Cap. 1.

⁶ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

⁷ *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1. Aph. 81.

⁸ *Cogitata et Visa*.

insoluble enigmas ; in exhortations to the attainment of unattainable frames of mind. It could not condescend to the humble office of ministering to the comfort of human beings. All the schools contemned that office as degrading ;

5 some censured it as immoral. Once indeed Posidonius, a distinguished writer of the age of Cicero and Cæsar, so far forgot himself as to enumerate, among the humbler blessings which mankind owed to philosophy, the discovery of the principle of the arch, and the introduction of the use of

10 metals. This eulogy was considered as an affront, and was taken up with proper spirit. Seneca vehemently disclaims these insulting compliments.¹ Philosophy, according to him, has nothing to do with teaching men to rear arched roofs over their heads. The true philosopher does not care whether he

15 has an arched roof or any roof. Philosophy has nothing to do with teaching men the uses of metals. She teaches us to be independent of all material substances, of all mechanical contrivances. The wise man lives according to nature. Instead of attempting to add to the physical comforts of his

20 species, he regrets that his lot was not cast in that golden age when the human race had no protection against the cold but the skins of wild beasts, no screen from the sun but a cavern. To impute to such a man any share in the invention or improvement of a plough, a ship, or a mill, is an insult.

25 ‘In my own time,’ says Seneca, ‘there have been inventions of this sort, transparent windows, tubes for diffusing warmth equally through all parts of a building, short-hand, which has been carried to such a perfection that a writer can keep pace with the most rapid speaker. But the inventing of such

30 things is drudgery for the lowest slaves ; philosophy lies deeper. It is not her office to teach men how to use their hands. The object of her lessons is to form the soul. *Non est, inquam, instrumentorum ad usus necessarios opifex.*’ If the *non* were left out, this last sentence would be no bad

35 description of the Baconian philosophy, and would, indeed,

¹ Seneca, *Epist.* 90.

very much resemble several expressions in the *Novum Organum*. 'We shall next be told,' exclaims Seneca, 'that the first shoemaker was a philosopher.' For our own part, if we are forced to make our choice between the first shoemaker and the author of the three books On Anger, we pronounce for the shoemaker. It may be worse to be angry than to be wet. But shoes have kept millions from being wet; and we doubt whether Seneca ever kept anybody from being angry. 5

It is very reluctantly that Seneca can be brought to confess that any philosopher had ever paid the smallest attention to anything that could possibly promote what vulgar people would consider as the well-being of mankind. He labours to clear Democritus from the disgraceful imputation of having made the first arch, and Anacharsis from the charge of having contrived the potter's wheel. He is forced to own that such a thing might happen; and it may also happen, he tells us, that a philosopher may be swift of foot. But it is not in his character of philosopher that he either wins a race or invents a machine. No, to be sure. 10 20
The business of a philosopher was to declaim in praise of poverty with two millions sterling out at usury, to meditate epigrammatic conceits about the evils of luxury, in gardens which moved the envy of sovereigns, to rant about liberty, while fawning on the insolent and pampered freedmen of a tyrant, to celebrate the divine beauty of virtue with the same pen which had just before written a defence of the murder of a mother by a son. 25

From the cant of this philosophy, a philosophy meanly proud of its own unprofitableness, it is delightful to turn to the lessons of the great English teacher. We can almost forgive all the faults of Bacon's life when we read that singularly graceful and dignified passage: 'Ego certe, ut de me ipso, quod res est, loquar, et in iis quæ nunc edo, et in iis quæ in posterum meditor, dignitatem ingenii et nominis mei, si qua sit, sæpius sciens et volens projicio, dum commodis humanis inserviam; quique architectus fortasse in philo- 30 35

sophia et scientiis esse debeam, etiam operarius, et bajulus, et quidvis demum fio, cum haud pauca quæ omnino fieri necesse sit, alii autem ob innatam superbiam subterfugiant, ipse sustineam et exsequar.'¹ This *philanthropia*, which, as

5 he said in one of the most remarkable of his early letters, 'was so fixed in his mind, as it could not be removed,' this majestic humility, this persuasion that nothing can be too insignificant for the attention of the wisest, which is not too insignificant to give pleasure or pain to the meanest, is the
10 great characteristic distinction, the essential spirit of the Baconian philosophy. We trace it in all that Bacon has written on Physics, on Laws, on Morals. And we conceive that from this peculiarity all the other peculiarities of his system directly and almost necessarily sprang.

15 The spirit which appears in the passage of Seneca to which we have referred tainted the whole body of the ancient philosophy from the time of Socrates downwards, and took possession of intellects with which that of Seneca cannot for a moment be compared. It pervades the dialogues
20 of Plato. It may be distinctly traced in many parts of the works of Aristotle. Bacon has dropped hints from which it may be inferred that, in his opinion, the prevalence of this feeling was in a great measure to be attributed to the influence of Socrates. Our great countryman evidently did
25 not consider the revolution which Socrates effected in philosophy as a happy event, and constantly maintained that the earlier Greek speculators, Democritus in particular, were, on the whole, superior to their more celebrated successors.²

30 Assuredly if the tree which Socrates planted and Plato watered is to be judged of by its flowers and leaves, it is the noblest of trees. But if we take the homely test of Bacon, if we judge of the tree by its fruits, our opinion of it may

¹ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 7. Cap. 1.

² *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1. Aph. 71. 79. *De Augmentis*, Lib. 3. Cap. 4. De principiis atque originibus. *Cogitata et Visa*. Redargutio philosophiarum.

perhaps be less favourable. When we sum up all the useful truths which we owe to that philosophy, to what do they amount? We find, indeed, abundant proofs that some of those who cultivated it were men of the first order of intellect. We find among their writings incomparable specimens both of dialectical and rhetorical art. We have no doubt that the ancient controversies were of use, in so far as they served to exercise the faculties of the disputants; for there is no controversy so idle that it may not be of use in this way. But, when we look for something more, for something which adds to the comforts or alleviates the calamities of the human race, we are forced to own ourselves disappointed. We are forced to say with Bacon that this celebrated philosophy ended in nothing but disputation, that it was neither a vineyard nor an olive-ground, but an intricate wood of briars and thistles, from which those who lost themselves in it brought back many scratches and no food.¹

We readily acknowledge that some of the teachers of this unfruitful wisdom were among the greatest men that the world has ever seen. If we admit the justice of Bacon's censure, we admit it with regret, similar to that which Dante felt when he learned the fate of those illustrious heathens who were doomed to the first circle of Hell.

‘ Gran duol mi prese al cuor quando lo ’ntesi,
Perocchè gente di molto valore
Conobbi che ’n quel limbo eran sospesi.’

But in truth the very admiration which we feel for the eminent philosophers of antiquity forces us to adopt the opinion that their powers were systematically misdirected. For how else could it be that such powers should effect so little for mankind? A pedestrian may show as much muscular vigour on a treadmill as on the highway road. But on the road his vigour will assuredly carry him forward; and on the treadmill he will not advance an inch. The ancient philosophy was a treadmill, not a path. It was

¹ *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1. Aph. 73.

made up of revolving questions, of controversies which were always beginning again. It was a contrivance for having much exertion and no progress. We must acknowledge that more than once, while contemplating the doctrines of the

5 Academy and the Portico, even as they appear in the transparent splendour of Cicero's incomparable diction, we have been tempted to mutter with the surly centurion in Persius, 'Cur quis non prandeat, hoc est?' What is the highest good, whether pain be an evil, whether all things be fated,

10 whether we can be certain of anything, whether we can be certain that we are certain of nothing, whether a wise man can be unhappy, whether all departures from right be equally reprehensible, these, and other questions of the same sort, occupied the brains, the tongues, and the pens of the ablest

15 men in the civilised world during several centuries. This sort of philosophy, it is evident, could not be progressive. It might indeed sharpen and invigorate the minds of those who devoted themselves to it; and so might the disputes of the orthodox Lilliputians and the heretical Blefuscudians

20 about the big ends and the little ends of eggs. But such disputes could add nothing to the stock of knowledge. The human mind accordingly, instead of marching, merely marked time. It took as much trouble as would have sufficed to carry it forward; and yet remained on the same spot. There

25 was no accumulation of truth, no heritage of truth acquired by the labour of one generation and bequeathed to another, to be again transmitted with large additions to a third. Where this philosophy was in the time of Cicero, there it continued to be in the time of Seneca, and there it continued

30 to be in the time of Favorinus. The same sects were still battling, with the same unsatisfactory arguments, about the same interminable questions. There had been no want of ingenuity, of zeal, of industry. Every trace of intellectual cultivation was there, except a harvest. There had been

35 plenty of ploughing, harrowing, reaping, threshing. But the garners contained only smut and stubble.

The ancient philosophers did not neglect natural science ;

but they did not cultivate it for the purpose of increasing the power and ameliorating the condition of man. The taint of barrenness had spread from ethical to physical speculations. Seneca wrote largely on natural philosophy, and magnified the importance of that study. But why? Not because it tended to assuage suffering, to multiply the conveniences of life, to extend the empire of man over the material world; but solely because it tended to raise the mind above low cares, to separate it from the body, to exercise its subtilty in the solution of very obscure questions.¹ Thus natural philosophy was considered in the light merely of a mental exercise. It was made subsidiary to the art of disputation; and it consequently proved altogether barren of useful discoveries. 5 10

There was one sect which, however absurd and pernicious some of its doctrines may have been, ought, it should seem, to have merited an exception from the general censure which Bacon has pronounced on the ancient schools of wisdom. The Epicurean, who referred all happiness to bodily pleasure, and all evil to bodily pain, might have been expected to exert himself for the purpose of bettering his own physical condition and that of his neighbours. But the thought seems never to have occurred to any member of that school. Indeed their notion, as reported by their great poet, was, that no more improvements were to be expected in the arts which conduce to the comfort of life. 15 20 25

‘Ad victum quæ flagitat usus
Omnia jam ferme mortalibus esse parata.’

This contented despondency, this disposition to admire what has been done, and to expect that nothing more will be done, is strongly characteristic of all the schools which preceded the school of Fruit and Progress. Widely as the Epicurean and the Stoic differed on most points, they seem to have quite agreed in their contempt for pursuits so vulgar as to be useful. The philosophy of both was a garrulous, declaiming, canting, wrangling philosophy. Century after 30 35

¹ Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* Præf. Lib. 3.

century they continued to repeat their hostile war-cries, Virtue and Pleasure; and in the end it appeared that the Epicurean had added as little to the quantity of pleasure as the Stoic to the quantity of virtue. It is on the pedestal of
 5 Bacon, not on that of Epicurus, that those noble lines ought to be inscribed :

‘ O tenebris tantis tam clarum extollere lumen
 Qui primus potuisti, illustrans commoda vitæ.’

In the fifth century Christianity had conquered Paganism,
 10 and Paganism had infected Christianity. The Church was now victorious and corrupt. The rites of the Pantheon had passed into her worship, the subtilties of the Academy into her creed. In an evil day, though with great pomp and solemnity,—we quote the language of Bacon, was the ill-
 15 starred alliance stricken between the old philosophy and the new faith.¹ Questions widely different from those which had employed the ingenuity of Pyrrho and Carneades, but just as subtle, just as interminable, and just as unprofitable, exercised the minds of the lively and voluble Greeks. When
 20 learning began to revive in the West, similar trifles occupied the sharp and vigorous intellects of the Schoolmen. There was another sowing of the wind, and another reaping of the whirlwind. The great work of improving the condition of the human race was still considered as unworthy of a man
 25 of learning. Those who undertook that task, if what they effected could be readily comprehended, were despised as mechanics; if not, they were in danger of being burned as conjurers.

There cannot be a stronger proof of the degree in which
 30 the human mind had been misdirected than the history of the two greatest events which took place during the middle ages. We speak of the invention of Gunpowder and of the invention of Printing. The dates of both are unknown. The authors of both are unknown. Nor was this because men were
 35 too rude and ignorant to value intellectual superiority. The

¹ *Cogitata et Visa.*

inventor of gunpowder appears to have been contemporary with Petrarch and Boccaccio. The inventor of printing was certainly contemporary with Nicholas the Fifth, with Cosmo de' Medici, and with a crowd of distinguished scholars. But the human mind still retained that fatal bent which it had received two thousand years earlier. George of Trebison and Marsilio Ficino would not easily have been brought to believe that the inventor of the printing-press had done more for mankind than themselves, or than those ancient writers of whom they were the enthusiastic votaries. 5 10

At length the time arrived when the barren philosophy which had, during so many ages, employed the faculties of the ablest of men, was destined to fall. It had worn many shapes. It had mingled itself with many creeds. It had survived revolutions in which empires, religions, languages, races, had perished. Driven from its ancient haunts, it had taken sanctuary in that Church which it had persecuted, and had, like the daring fiends of the poet, placed its seat 15

‘next the seat of God,
And with its darkness dared affront his light.’ 20

Words, and more words, and nothing but words, had been all the fruit of all the toil of all the most renowned sages of sixty generations. But the days of this sterile exuberance were numbered.

Many causes predisposed the public mind to a change. The study of a great variety of ancient writers, though it did not give a right direction to philosophical research, did much towards destroying that blind reverence for authority which had prevailed when Aristotle ruled alone. The rise of the Florentine sect of Platonists, a sect to which belonged some of the finest minds of the fifteenth century, was not an unimportant event. The mere substitution of the Academic for the Peripatetic philosophy would indeed have done little good. But anything was better than the old habit of unreasoning servility. It was something to have a choice of tyrants. ‘A spark of freedom,’ as Gibbon has justly 25 30 35

remarked, 'was produced by this collision of adverse servitude.'

Other causes might be mentioned. But it is chiefly to the great reformation of religion that we owe the great
 5 reformation of philosophy. The alliance between the Schools and the Vatican had for ages been so close that those who threw off the dominion of the Vatican could not continue to recognise the authority of the Schools. Most of the chiefs of the schism treated the Peripatetic philosophy with contempt,
 10 and spoke of Aristotle as if Aristotle had been answerable for all the dogmas of Thomas Aquinas. 'Nullo apud Lutheranos philosophiam esse in pretio,' was a reproach which the defenders of the Church of Rome loudly repeated, and which many of the Protestant leaders considered as a
 15 compliment. Scarcely any text was more frequently cited by the reformers than that in which St. Paul cautions the Colossians not to let any man spoil them by philosophy. Luther, almost at the outset of his career, went so far as to declare that no man could be at once a proficient in the
 20 school of Aristotle and in that of Christ. Zwingli, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Calvin, held similar language. In some of the Scotch universities the Aristotelian system was discarded for that of Ramus. Thus, before the birth of Bacon, the empire of the scholastic philosophy had been shaken to
 25 its foundations. There was in the intellectual world an anarchy resembling that which in the political world often follows the overthrow of an old and deeply rooted government. Antiquity, prescription, the sound of great names, had ceased to awe mankind. The dynasty which had
 30 reigned for ages was at an end; and the vacant throne was left to be struggled for by pretenders.

The first effect of this great revolution was, as Bacon most justly observed,¹ to give for a time an undue importance to the mere graces of style. The new breed of scholars, the
 35 Aschams and Buchanans, nourished with the finest compositions of the Augustan age, regarded with loathing the

¹ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 1.

dry, crabbed, and barbarous diction of respondents and opponents. They were far less studious about the matter of their writing than about the manner. They succeeded in reforming Latinity; but they never even aspired to effect a reform in philosophy.

At this time Bacon appeared. It is altogether incorrect to say, as has often been said, that he was the first man who rose up against the Aristotelian philosophy when in the height of its power. The authority of that philosophy had, as we have shown, received a fatal blow long before he was born. Several speculators, among whom Ramus is the best known, had recently attempted to form new sects. Bacon's own expressions about the state of public opinion in the time of Luther are clear and strong: 'Accedebat,' says he, 'odium et contemptus, illis ipsis temporibus ortus erga Scholasticos.' And again, 'Scholasticorum doctrina despectui prorsus haberi cœpit tanquam aspera et barbara.'¹ The part which Bacon played in this great change was the part, not of Robespierre, but of Bonaparte. The ancient order of things had been subverted. Some bigots still cherished with devoted loyalty the remembrance of the fallen monarchy and exerted themselves to effect a restoration. But the majority had no such feeling. Freed, yet not knowing how to use their freedom, they pursued no determinate course, and had found no leader capable of conducting them.

That leader at length arose. The philosophy which he taught was essentially new. It differed from that of the celebrated ancient teachers, not merely in method, but also in object. Its object was the good of mankind, in the sense in which the mass of mankind always have understood and always will understand the word good. 'Meditor,' said Bacon, 'instaurationem philosophiæ ejusmodi quæ nihil inanis aut abstracti habeat, quæque vitæ humanæ conditiones in melius provehat.'²

¹ Both these passages are in the first book of the *De Augmentis*.

² *Redargutio Philosophiarum*.

The difference between the philosophy of Bacon and that of his predecessors cannot, we think, be better illustrated than by comparing his views on some important subjects with those of Plato. We select Plato, because we conceive
 5 that he did more than any other person towards giving to the minds of speculative men that bent which they retained till they received from Bacon a new impulse in a diametrically opposite direction.

It is curious to observe how differently these great men
 10 estimated the value of every kind of knowledge. Take Arithmetic for example. Plato, after speaking slightly of the convenience of being able to reckon and compute in the ordinary transactions of life, passes to what he considers as a far more important advantage. The study of the prop-
 15 erties of numbers, he tells us, habituates the mind to the contemplation of pure truth, and raises us above the material universe. He would have his disciples apply themselves to this study, not that they may be able to buy or sell, not that they may qualify themselves to be shopkeepers or travelling
 20 merchants, but that they may learn to withdraw their minds from the ever-shifting spectacle of this visible and tangible world, and to fix them on the immutable essences of things.¹

Bacon, on the other hand, valued this branch of knowledge, only on account of its uses with reference to that
 25 visible and tangible world which Plato so much despised. He speaks with scorn of the mystical arithmetic of the later Platonists, and laments the propensity of mankind to employ, on mere matters of curiosity, powers the whole exertion of which is required for purposes of solid advantage. He
 30 advises arithmeticians to leave these trifles, and to employ themselves in framing convenient expressions, which may be of use in physical researches.²

The same reasons which led Plato to recommend the study of arithmetic led him to recommend also the study of
 35 mathematics. The vulgar crowd of geometricians, he says,

¹ Plato's *Republic*, Book 7.

² *De Augmentis*, Lib. 3. Cap. 6.

will not understand him. They have practice always in view. They do not know that the real use of the science is to lead men to the knowledge of abstract, essential, eternal truth.¹ Indeed, if we are to believe Plutarch, Plato carried this feeling so far that he considered geometry as degraded by being applied to any purpose of vulgar utility. Archytas, it seems, had framed machines of extraordinary power on mathematical principles.² Plato remonstrated with his friend, and declared that this was to degrade a noble intellectual exercise into a low craft, fit only for carpenters and wheelwrights. The office of geometry, he said, was to discipline the mind, not to minister to the base wants of the body. His interference was successful, and from that time, according to Plutarch, the science of mechanics was considered as unworthy of the attention of a philosopher.

Archimedes in a later age imitated and surpassed Archytas. But even Archimedes was not free from the prevailing notion that geometry was degraded by being employed to produce anything useful. It was with difficulty that he was induced to stoop from speculation to practice. He was half ashamed of those inventions which were the wonder of hostile nations, and always spoke of them slightly as mere amusements, as trifles in which a mathematician might be suffered to relax his mind after intense application to the higher parts of his science.

The opinion of Bacon on this subject was diametrically opposed to that of the ancient philosophers. He valued geometry chiefly, if not solely, on account of those uses, which to Plato appeared so base. And it is remarkable that the longer Bacon lived the stronger this feeling became. When in 1605 he wrote the two books on the Advancement of Learning, he dwelt on the advantages which mankind derived from mixed mathematics; but he at the same time admitted that the beneficial effect produced by mathematical

¹ Plato's *Republic*, Book 7.

² Plutarch, *Sympos.* viii. and *Life of Marcellus*. The machines of Archytas are also mentioned by Aulus Gellius and Diogenes Laertius.

study on the intellect, though a collateral advantage, was 'no less worthy than that which was principal and intended.' But it is evident that his views underwent a change. When, near twenty years later, he published the *De Augmentis*,
5 which is the Treatise on the Advancement of Learning, greatly expanded and carefully corrected, he made important alterations in the part which related to mathematics. He condemned with severity the high pretensions of the mathematicians, 'delicias et fastum mathematicorum.' Assuming
10 the well-being of the human race to be the end of knowledge,¹ he pronounced that mathematical science could claim no higher rank than that of an appendage or an auxiliary to other sciences. Mathematical science, he says, is the handmaid of natural philosophy; she ought to demean herself as
15 such; and he declares that he cannot conceive by what ill chance it has happened that she presumes to claim precedence over her mistress. He predicts—a prediction which would have made Plato shudder—that as more and more discoveries are made in physics, there will be more and
20 more branches of mixed mathematics. Of that collateral advantage the value of which, twenty years before, he rated so highly, he says not one word. This omission cannot have been the effect of mere inadvertence. His own treatise was before him. From that treatise he deliberately ex-
25 punged whatever was favourable to the study of pure mathematics, and inserted several keen reflections on the ardent votaries of that study. This fact, in our opinion, admits of only one explanation. Bacon's love of those pursuits which directly tend to improve the condition of man-
30 kind, and his jealousy of all pursuits merely curious, had grown upon him, and had, it may be, become immoderate. He was afraid of using any expression which might have the effect of inducing any man of talents to employ in speculations, useful only to the mind of the speculator, a single
35 hour which might be employed in extending the empire of

¹ Usui et commodis hominum consulimus.

man over matter.¹ If Bacon erred here, we must acknowledge that we greatly prefer his error to the opposite error of Plato. We have no patience with a philosophy which, like those Roman matrons who swallowed abortives in order to preserve their shapes, takes pains to be barren for fear of being homely. 5

Let us pass to astronomy. This was one of the sciences which Plato exhorted his disciples to learn, but for reasons far removed from common habits of thinking. 'Shall we set down astronomy,' says Socrates, 'among the subjects of study?'² 'I think so,' answers his young friend Glaucon: 'to know something about the seasons, the months, and the years is of use for military purposes, as well as for agriculture and navigation.' 'It amuses me,' says Socrates, 'to see how afraid you are, lest the common herd of people should accuse you of recommending useless studies.' He 15 then proceeds, in that pure and magnificent diction which, as Cicero said, Jupiter would use if Jupiter spoke Greek, to explain, that the use of astronomy is not to add to the vulgar comforts of life, but to assist in raising the mind to the contemplation of things which are to be perceived by the pure intellect alone. The knowledge of the actual motions 20 of the heavenly bodies Socrates considers as of little value. The appearances which make the sky beautiful at night are, he tells us, like the figures which a geometrician draws on the sand, mere examples, mere helps to feeble minds. We must get beyond them; we must neglect them; we must attain to an astronomy which is as independent of the actual stars as geometrical truth is independent of the lines of an ill-drawn diagram. This is, we imagine, very nearly, if not 30 exactly, the astronomy which Bacon compared to the ox of Prometheus,³ a sleek, well-shaped hide, stuffed with rubbish, goodly to look at, but containing nothing to eat. He complained that astronomy had, to its great injury, been sepa-

¹ Compare the passage relating to mathematics in the Second Book of the Advancement in Learning, with the *De Augmentis*, Lib. 3. Cap. 6.

² Plato's *Republic*, Book 7.

³ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 3. Cap. 4.

rated from natural philosophy, of which it was one of the noblest provinces, and annexed to the domain of mathematics. The world stood in need, he said, of a very different astronomy, of a living astronomy,¹ of an astronomy which
 5 should set forth the nature, the motion, and the influences of the heavenly bodies, as they really are.²

On the greatest and most useful of all human inventions, the invention of alphabetical writing, Plato did not look with much complacency. He seems to have thought that the use
 10 of letters had operated on the human mind as the use of the go-cart in learning to walk, or of corks in learning to swim, is said to operate on the human body. It was a support which, in his opinion, soon became indispensable to those who used it, which made vigorous exertion first unnecessary,
 15 and then impossible. The powers of the intellect would, he conceived, have been more fully developed without this delusive aid. Men would have been compelled to exercise the understanding and the memory, and, by deep and assiduous meditation, to make truth thoroughly their own.
 20 Now, on the contrary, much knowledge is traced on paper, but little is engraved in the soul. A man is certain that he can find information at a moment's notice when he wants it. He therefore suffers it to fade from his mind. Such a man cannot in strictness be said to know anything. He has the
 25 show without the reality of wisdom. These opinions Plato has put into the mouth of an ancient king of Egypt.³ But it is evident from the context that they were his own; and so they were understood to be by Quintilian.⁴ Indeed they are in perfect accordance with the whole Platonic system.

30 Bacon's views, as may easily be supposed, were widely different.⁵ The powers of the memory, he observes, without the help of writing, can do little towards the advancement of

¹ *Astronomia viva.*

² 'Quæ substantiam et motum et influxum cœlestium, prout re vera sunt, proponat.' Compare this language with Plato's 'τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ ἑάσομεν.'

³ Plato's *Phædrus*.

⁴ Quintilian, XI.

⁵ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 5. Cap. 5.

any useful science. He acknowledges that the memory may be disciplined to such a point as to be able to perform very extraordinary feats. But on such feats he sets little value. The habits of his mind, he tells us, are such that he is not disposed to rate highly any accomplishment, however rare, which is of no practical use to mankind. As to these prodigious achievements of the memory, he ranks them with the exhibitions of rope-dancers and tumblers. 'The two performances,' he says, 'are of much the same sort. The one is an abuse of the powers of the body; the other is an abuse of the powers of the mind. Both may perhaps excite our wonder; but neither is entitled to our respect.'

To Plato, the science of medicine appeared to be of very disputable advantage.¹ He did not indeed object to quick cures for acute disorders, or for injuries produced by accidents. But the art which resists the slow sap of a chronic disease, which repairs frames enervated by lust, swollen by gluttony, or inflamed by wine, which encourages sensuality by mitigating the natural punishment of the sensualist, and prolongs existence when the intellect has ceased to retain its entire energy, had no share of his esteem. A life protracted by medical skill he pronounced to be a long death. The exercise of the art of medicine ought, he said, to be tolerated, so far as that art may serve to cure the occasional distempers of men whose constitutions are good. As to those who have bad constitutions, let them die; and the sooner the better. Such men are unfit for war, for magistracy, for the management of their domestic affairs, for severe study and speculation. If they engage in any vigorous mental exercise, they are troubled with giddiness and fulness of the head, all which they lay to the account of philosophy. The best thing that can happen to such wretches is to have done with life at once. He quotes mythical authority in support of this doctrine; and reminds his disciples that the practice of the sons of Æsculapius, as

¹ Plato's *Republic*, Book 3.

described by Homer, extended only to the cure of external injuries.

Far different was the philosophy of Bacon. Of all the sciences, that which he seems to have regarded with the
5 greatest interest was the science which, in Plato's opinion, would not be tolerated in a well-regulated community. To make men perfect was no part of Bacon's plan. His humble aim was to make imperfect men comfortable. The beneficence of his philosophy resembled the beneficence of
10 the common Father, whose sun rises on the evil and the good, whose rain descends for the just and the unjust. In Plato's opinion man was made for philosophy; in Bacon's opinion philosophy was made for man; it was a means to an end; and that end was to increase the pleasures and to
15 mitigate the pains of millions who are not and cannot be philosophers. That a valetudinarian who took great pleasure in being wheeled along his terrace, who relished his boiled chicken and his weak wine and water, and who enjoyed a hearty laugh over the Queen of Navarre's tales,
20 should be treated as a *caput lupinum* because he could not read the *Timæus* without a headache, was a notion which the humane spirit of the English school of wisdom altogether rejected. Bacon would not have thought it beneath the dignity of a philosopher to contrive an improved garden
25 chair for such a valetudinarian, to devise some way of rendering his medicines more palatable, to invent repasts which he might enjoy, and pillows on which he might sleep soundly; and this though there might not be the smallest hope that the mind of the poor invalid would ever rise to
30 the contemplation of the ideal beautiful and the ideal good. As Plato had cited the religious legends of Greece to justify his contempt for the more recondite parts of the art of healing, Bacon vindicated the dignity of that art by appealing to the example of Christ, and reminded men that the
35 great Physician of the soul did not disdain to be also the physician of the body.¹

¹ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 4. Cap. 2.

When we pass from the science of medicine to that of legislation, we find the same difference between the systems of these two great men. Plato, at the commencement of the Dialogue on Laws, lays it down as a fundamental principle that the end of legislation is to make men virtuous. 5 It is unnecessary to point out the extravagant conclusions to which such a proposition leads. Bacon well knew to how great an extent the happiness of every society must depend on the virtue of its members; and he also knew what legislators can and what they cannot do for the purpose of promoting virtue. 10 The view which he has given of the end of legislation, and of the principal means for the attainment of that end, has always seemed to us eminently happy, even among the many happy passages of the same kind with which his works abound. 'Finis et scopus quem 15 leges intueri atque ad quem jussiones et sanctiones suas dirigere debent, non alius est quam ut cives feliciter degant. Id fiet si pietate et religione recte instituti, moribus honesti, armis adversus hostes externos tuti, legum auxilio adversus seditiones et privatas injurias muniti, imperio et magistratibus obsequentes, copiis et opibus locupletes et florentes fuerint.'¹ The end is the well-being of the people. The means are the imparting of moral and religious education; the providing of everything necessary for defence against foreign enemies; the maintaining of internal order; the 25 establishing of a judicial, financial, and commercial system, under which wealth may be rapidly accumulated and securely enjoyed.

Even with respect to the form in which laws ought to be drawn, there is a remarkable difference of opinion between the Greek and the Englishman. Plato thought a preamble essential; Bacon thought it mischievous. Each was consistent with himself. Plato, considering the moral improvement of the people as the end of legislation, justly inferred that a law which commanded and threatened, but which 35 neither convinced the reason nor touched the heart, must

¹ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 8. Cap. 3. Aph. 5.

be a most imperfect law. He was not content with deterring from theft a man who still continued to be a thief at heart, with restraining a son who hated his mother from beating his mother. The only obedience on which he set
 5 much value was the obedience which an enlightened understanding yields to reason, and which a virtuous disposition yields to precepts of virtue. He really seems to have believed that, by prefixing to every law an eloquent and pathetic exhortation, he should, to a great extent, render
 10 penal enactments superfluous. Bacon entertained no such romantic hopes; and he well knew the practical inconveniences of the course which Plato recommended. 'Neque nobis,' says he, 'prologi legum qui inepti olim habiti sunt, et leges introducunt disputantes non jubentes, utique place-
 15 rent, si priscos mores ferre possemus. . . . Quantum fieri potest prologi evitentur, et lex incipiat a jussione.'¹

Each of the great men whom we have compared intended to illustrate his system by a philosophical romance; and each left his romance imperfect. Had Plato lived to finish
 20 the Critias, a comparison between that noble fiction and the New Atlantis would probably have furnished us with still more striking instances than any which we have given. It is amusing to think with what horror he would have seen such an institution as Solomon's House rising in his
 25 republic: with what vehemence he would have ordered the brew-houses, the perfume-houses, and the dispensaries to be pulled down; and with what inexorable rigour he would have driven beyond the frontier all the Fellows of the College, Merchants of Light and Depredators, Lamps
 30 and Pioneers.

To sum up the whole, we should say that the aim of the Platonic philosophy was to exalt man into a god. The aim of the Baconian philosophy was to provide man with what he requires while he continues to be man. The aim of the
 35 Platonic philosophy was to raise us far above vulgar wants. The aim of the Baconian philosophy was to supply our

¹ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 8. Cap. 3. Aph. 69.

vulgar wants. The former aim was noble ; but the latter was attainable. Plato drew a good bow ; but, like Acestes in Virgil, he aimed at the stars ; and therefore, though there was no want of strength or skill, the shot was thrown away. His arrow was indeed followed by a track of dazzling radiance, 5 but it struck nothing.

‘ Volans liquidis in nubibus arsit arundo
Signavitque viam flammis, tenuisque recessit
Consumpta in ventos.’

Bacon fixed his eye on a mark which was placed on the earth 10 and within bow-shot, and hit it in the white. The philosophy of Plato began in words and ended in words, noble words indeed, words such as were to be expected from the finest of human intellects exercising boundless dominion over the finest of human languages. The philosophy of Bacon began 15 in observations and ended in arts.

The boast of the ancient philosophers was that their doctrine formed the minds of men to a high degree of wisdom and virtue. This was indeed the only practical good which the most celebrated of those teachers even pretended to effect ; 20 and undoubtedly, if they had effected this, they would have deserved far higher praise than if they had discovered the most salutary medicines or constructed the most powerful machines. But the truth is that, in those very matters in which alone they professed to do any good to mankind, in 25 those very matters for the sake of which they neglected all the vulgar interests of mankind, they did nothing, or worse than nothing. They promised what was impracticable ; they despised what was practicable ; they filled the world with long words and long beards ; and they left it as wicked and 30 as ignorant as they found it.

An acre in Middlesex is better than a principality in Utopia. The smallest actual good is better than the most magnificent promises of impossibilities. The wise man of the Stoics would, no doubt, be a grander object than a steam- 35 engine. But there are steam-engines. And the wise man of the Stoics is yet to be born. A philosophy which should

enable a man to feel perfectly happy while in agonies of pain would be better than a philosophy which assuages pain. But we know that there are remedies which will assuage pain; and we know that the ancient sages liked the tooth-
5 ache just as little as their neighbours. A philosophy which should extinguish cupidity would be better than a philosophy which should devise laws for the security of property. But it is possible to make laws which shall, to a very great extent, secure property. And we do not understand how any
10 motives which the ancient philosophy furnished could extinguish cupidity. We know indeed that the philosophers were no better than other men. From the testimony of friends as well as of foes, from the confessions of Epictetus and Seneca, as well as from the sneers of Lucian and the
15 fierce invectives of Juvenal, it is plain that these teachers of virtue had all the vices of their neighbours, with the additional vice of hypocrisy. Some people may think the object of the Baconian philosophy a low object, but they cannot deny that, high or low, it has been attained. They cannot deny
20 that every year makes an addition to what Bacon called 'fruit.' They cannot deny that mankind have made, and are making, great and constant progress in the road which he pointed out to them. Was there any such progressive movement among the ancient philosophers? After they had been
25 declaiming eight hundred years, had they made the world better than when they began? Our belief is that, among the philosophers themselves, instead of a progressive improvement there was a progressive degeneracy. An abject superstition which Democritus or Anaxagoras would have rejected
30 with scorn added the last disgrace to the long dotage of the Stoic and Platonic schools. Those unsuccessful attempts to articulate which are so delightful and interesting in a child shock and disgust us in an aged paralytic; and in the same way, those wild mythological fictions which charm us, when
35 we hear them lisped by Greek poetry in its infancy, excite a mixed sensation of pity and loathing when mumbled by Greek philosophy in its old age. We know that guns, cutlery,

spy-glasses, clocks, are better in our time than they were in the time of our fathers, and were better in the time of our fathers than they were in the time of our grandfathers. We might, therefore, be inclined to think that, when a philosophy which boasted that its object was the elevation and purification of the mind, and which for this object neglected the sordid office of ministering to the comforts of the body, had flourished in the highest honour during many hundreds of years, a vast moral amelioration must have taken place. Was it so? Look at the schools of this wisdom four centuries before the Christian era and four centuries after that era. Compare the men whom those schools formed at those two periods. Compare Plato and Libanius. Compare Pericles and Julian. This philosophy confessed, nay boasted, that for every end but one it was useless. Had it attained that one end?

Suppose that Justinian, when he closed the schools of Athens, had called on the last few sages who still haunted the Portico, and lingered round the ancient plane-trees, to show their title to public veneration: suppose that he had said: 'A thousand years have elapsed since, in this famous city, Socrates posed Protagoras and Hippias; during those thousand years a large proportion of the ablest men of every generation has been employed in constant efforts to bring to perfection the philosophy which you teach; that philosophy has been munificently patronised by the powerful; its professors have been held in the highest esteem by the public; it has drawn to itself almost all the sap and vigour of the human intellect: and what has it effected? What profitable truth has it taught us which we should not equally have known without it? What has it enabled us to do which we should not have been equally able to do without it?' Such questions, we suspect, would have puzzled Simplicius and Isidore. Ask a follower of Bacon what the new philosophy, as it was called in the time of Charles the Second, has effected for mankind, and his answer is ready: 'It has lengthened life; it has mitigated pain; it has extinguished

diseases ; it has increased the fertility of the soil ; it has given new securities to the mariner ; it has furnished new arms to the warrior ; it has spanned great rivers and estuaries with bridges of form unknown to our fathers ; it

5 has guided the thunderbolt innocuously from heaven to earth ; it has lighted up the night with the splendour of the day ; it has extended the range of the human vision ; it has multiplied the power of the human muscles ; it has accelerated motion ; it has annihilated distance ; it has facilitated

10 intercourse, correspondence, all friendly offices, all despatch of business ; it has enabled man to descend to the depths of the sea, to soar into the air, to penetrate securely into the noxious recesses of the earth, to traverse the land in cars which whirl along without horses, and the ocean in ships

15 which run ten knots an hour against the wind. These are but a part of its fruits, and of its first fruits. For it is a philosophy which never rests, which has never attained, which is never perfect. Its law is progress. A point which yesterday was invisible is its goal to-day, and will be its

20 starting-post to-morrow.'

Great and various as the powers of Bacon were, he owes his wide and durable fame chiefly to this, that all those powers received their direction from common sense. His love of the vulgar useful, his strong sympathy with the

25 popular notions of good and evil, and the openness with which he avowed that sympathy, are the secret of his influence. There was in his system no cant, no illusion. He had no anointing for broken bones, no fine theories *de finibus*, no arguments to persuade men out of their senses.

30 He knew that men, and philosophers as well as other men, do actually love life, health, comfort, honour, security, the society of friends, and do actually dislike death, sickness, pain, poverty, disgrace, danger, separation from those to whom they are attached. He knew that religion, though it

35 often regulates and moderates these feelings, seldom eradicates them ; nor did he think it desirable for mankind that they should be eradicated. The plan of eradicating them

by conceits like those of Seneca, or syllogisms like those of Chrysippus, was too preposterous to be for a moment entertained by a mind like his. He did not understand what wisdom there could be in changing names where it was impossible to change things; in denying that blindness, hunger, the gout, the rack, were evils, and calling them ἀποπροηγμένα; in refusing to acknowledge that health, safety, plenty, were good things, and dubbing them by the name of ἀδιάφορα. In his opinions on all these subjects, he was not a Stoic, nor an Epicurean, nor an Academic, but what would have been called by Stoics, Epicureans, and Academics a mere ἰδιώτης, a mere common man. And it was precisely because he was so that his name makes so great an era in the history of the world. It was because he dug deep that he was able to pile high. It was because, in order to lay his foundations, he went down into those parts of human nature which lie low, but which are not liable to change, that the fabric which he reared has risen to so stately an elevation, and stands with such immovable strength.

We have sometimes thought that an amusing fiction might be written, in which a disciple of Epictetus and a disciple of Bacon should be introduced as fellow-travellers. They come to a village where the small-pox has just begun to rage, and find houses shut up, intercourse suspended, the sick abandoned, mothers weeping in terror over their children. The Stoic assures the dismayed population that there is nothing bad in the small-pox, and that to a wise man disease, deformity, death, the loss of friends, are not evils. The Baconian takes out a lancet and begins to vaccinate. They find a body of miners in great dismay. An explosion of noisome vapours has just killed many of those who were at work; and the survivors are afraid to venture into the cavern. The Stoic assures them that such an accident is nothing but a mere ἀποπροηγμένον. The Baconian, who has no such fine word at his command, contents himself with devising a safety-lamp. They find a shipwrecked merchant wringing his hands on the shore. His vessel with an

inestimable cargo has just gone down, and he is reduced in a moment from opulence to beggary. The Stoic exhorts him not to seek happiness in things which lie without himself, and repeats the whole chapter of Epictetus *πρὸς τοὺς τὴν ἀπορίαν*
 5 *δεδοικότες*. The Baconian constructs a diving-bell, goes down in it, and returns with the most precious effects from the wreck. It would be easy to multiply illustrations of the difference between the philosophy of thorns and the philosophy of fruit, the philosophy of words and the philosophy of works.

- 10 Bacon has been accused of overrating the importance of those sciences which minister to the physical well-being of man, and of underrating the importance of moral philosophy; and it cannot be denied that persons who read the *Novum Organum* and the *De Augmentis*, without adverting to the
 15 circumstances under which those works were written, will find much that may seem to countenance the accusation. It is certain, however, that, though in practice he often went very wrong, and though, as his historical work and his essays prove, he did not hold, even in theory, very strict
 20 opinions on points of political morality, he was far too wise a man not to know how much our well-being depends on the regulation of our minds. The world for which he wished was not, as some people seem to imagine, a world of water-wheels, power-looms, steam-carriages, sensualists, and
 25 knaves. He would have been as ready as Zeno himself to maintain that no bodily comforts which could be devised by the skill and labour of a hundred generations would give happiness to a man whose mind was under the tyranny of licentious appetite, of envy, of hatred, or of fear. If he
 30 sometimes appeared to ascribe importance too exclusively to the arts which increase the outward comforts of our species, the reason is plain. Those arts had been most unduly depreciated. They had been represented as unworthy of the attention of a man of liberal education.
 35 'Cogitavit,' says Bacon of himself, 'eam esse opinionem sive æstimationem humidam et damnosam, minui nempe majestatem mentis humanæ, si in experimentis et rebus particu-

laribus, sensui subjectis, et in materia terminatis, diu ac multum versetur: præsertim cum hujusmodi res ad inquirendum laboriosæ, ad meditandum ignobiles, ad discendum asperæ, ad practicam illiberales, numero infinitæ, et subtilitate pusillæ videri soleant, et ob hujusmodi conditiones, 5 gloria artium minus sint accommodatæ.¹ This opinion seemed to him 'omnia in familia humana turbasse.' It had undoubtedly caused many arts which were of the greatest utility, and which were susceptible of the greatest improvements, to be neglected by speculators, and abandoned to 10 joiners, masons, smiths, weavers, apothecaries. It was necessary to assert the dignity of those arts, to bring them prominently forward, to proclaim that, as they have a most serious effect on human happiness, they are not unworthy of the attention of the highest human intellects. Again, it was 15 by illustrations drawn from these arts that Bacon could most easily illustrate his principles. It was by improvements effected in these arts that the soundness of his principles could be most speedily and decisively brought to the test, and made manifest to common understandings. He acted 20 like a wise commander who thins every other part of his line to strengthen a point where the enemy is attacking with peculiar fury, and on the fate of which the event of the battle seems likely to depend. In the *Novum Organum*, however, he distinctly and most truly declares that his philosophy is 25 no less a Moral than a Natural Philosophy, that, though his illustrations are drawn from physical science, the principles which those illustrations are intended to explain are just as applicable to ethical and political inquiries as to inquiries into the nature of heat and vegetation.² 30

He frequently treated of moral subjects; and he brought to those subjects that spirit which was the essence of his

¹ *Cogitata et Visa*. The expression *opinio humida* may surprise a reader not accustomed to Bacon's style. The allusion is to the maxim of Heraclitus the obscure: 'Dry light is the best.' By dry light Bacon understood the light of the intellect, not obscured by the mists of passion, interest, or prejudice.

² *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1. Aph. 127.

whole system. He has left us many admirable practical observations on what he somewhat quaintly called the Georgics of the mind, on the mental culture which tends to produce good dispositions. Some persons, he said, might
 5 accuse him of spending labour on a matter so simple that his predecessors had passed it by with contempt. He desired such persons to remember that he had from the first announced the objects of his search to be not the splendid and the surprising, but the useful and the true, not the
 10 deluding dreams which go forth through the shining portal of ivory, but the humbler realities of the gate of horn.¹

True to this principle, he indulged in no rants about the fitness of things, the all-sufficiency of virtue, and the dignity of human nature. He dealt not at all in resounding nothings,
 15 such as those with which Bolingbroke pretended to comfort himself in exile, and in which Cicero vainly sought consolation after the loss of Tullia. The casuistical subtilties which occupied the attention of the keenest spirits of his age had, it should seem, no attractions for him. The doctors whom
 20 Escobar afterwards compared to the four beasts and the four-and-twenty elders in the Apocalypse Bacon dismissed with most contemptuous brevity. 'Inanes plerumque evadunt et futiles.'² Nor did he ever meddle with those enigmas which have puzzled hundreds of generations, and will puzzle hun-
 25 dreds more. He said nothing about the grounds of moral obligation, or the freedom of the human will. He had no inclination to employ himself in labours resembling those of the damned in the Grecian Tartarus, to spin for ever on the same wheel round the same pivot, to gape for ever after
 30 the same deluding clusters, to pour water for ever into the same bottomless buckets, to pace for ever to and fro on the same wearisome path after the same recoiling stone. He exhorted his disciples to prosecute researches of a very different description, to consider moral science as a practical
 35 science, a science of which the object was to cure the diseases and perturbations of the mind, and which could be improved

¹ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 7. Cap. 3.

² *Ibid.* Lib. 7. Cap. 2.

only by a method analogous to that which has improved medicine and surgery. Moral philosophers ought, he said, to set themselves vigorously to work for the purpose of discovering what are the actual effects produced on the human character by particular modes of education, by the indulgence of particular habits, by the study of particular books, by society, by emulation, by imitation. Then we might hope to find out what mode of training was most likely to preserve and restore moral health.¹ 5

What he was as a natural philosopher and a moral philosopher, that he was also as a theologian. He was, we are convinced, a sincere believer in the divine authority of the Christian revelation. Nothing can be found in his writings, or in any other writings, more eloquent and pathetic than some passages which were apparently written under the influence of strong devotional feeling. He loved to dwell on the power of the Christian religion to effect much that the ancient philosophers could only promise. He loved to consider that religion as the bond of charity, the curb of evil passions, the consolation of the wretched, the support of the timid, the hope of the dying. But controversies on speculative points of theology seem to have engaged scarcely any portion of his attention. In what he wrote on Church Government he showed, as far as he dared, a tolerant and charitable spirit. He troubled himself not at all about Homoousians and Homoiousians, Monothelites and Nestorians. He lived in an age in which disputes on the most subtle points of divinity excited an intense interest throughout Europe, and nowhere more than in England. He was placed in the very thick of the conflict. He was in power at the time of the Synod of Dort, and must for months have been daily deafened with talk about election, reprobation, and final perseverance. Yet we do not remember a line in his works from which it can be inferred that he was either a Calvinist or an Arminian. While the world was resounding with the noise of a disputatious philosophy and a disputatious theology, 10 15 20 25 30 35

¹ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 7. Cap. 3.

the Baconian school, like Alworthy seated between Square and Thwackum, preserved a calm neutrality, half scornful, half benevolent, and, content with adding to the sum of practical good, left the war of words to those who liked it.

5 We have dwelt long on the end of the Baconian philosophy, because from this peculiarity all the other peculiarities of that philosophy necessarily arose. Indeed, scarcely any person who proposed to himself the same end with Bacon could fail to hit upon the same means.

10 The vulgar notion about Bacon we take to be this, that he invented a new method of arriving at truth, which method is called Induction, and that he detected some fallacy in the syllogistic reasoning which had been in vogue before his time. This notion is about as well-founded as that of the
15 people who, in the middle ages, imagined that Virgil was a great conjurer. Many who are far too well-informed to talk such extravagant nonsense entertain what we think incorrect notions as to what Bacon really effected in this matter.

The inductive method has been practised ever since the
20 beginning of the world by every human being. It is constantly practised by the most ignorant clown, by the most thoughtless schoolboy, by the very child at the breast. That method leads the clown to the conclusion that if he sows barley he shall not reap wheat. By that method the school-
25 boy learns that a cloudy day is the best for catching trout. The very infant, we imagine, is led by induction to expect milk from his mother or nurse, and none from his father.

Not only is it not true that Bacon invented the inductive method; but it is not true that he was the first person
30 who correctly analysed that method and explained its uses. Aristotle had long before pointed out the absurdity of supposing that syllogistic reasoning could ever conduct men to the discovery of any new principle, had shown that such discoveries must be made by induction, and by induction
35 alone, and had given the history of the inductive process, concisely indeed, but with great perspicuity and precision.

Again, we are not inclined to ascribe much practical

value to that analysis of the inductive method which Bacon has given in the second book of the *Novum Organum*. It is indeed an elaborate and correct analysis. But it is an analysis of that which we are all doing from morning to night, and which we continue to do even in our dreams. A plain man finds his stomach out of order. He never heard Lord Bacon's name. But he proceeds in the strictest conformity with the rules laid down in the second book of the *Novum Organum*, and satisfies himself that minced pies have done the mischief. 'I ate minced pies on Monday and Wednesday, and I was kept awake by indigestion all night.' This is the *comparentia ad intellectum instantiarum convenientium*. 'I did not eat any on Tuesday and Friday, and I was quite well.' This is the *comparentia instantiarum in proximo quæ natura data privantur*. 'I ate very sparingly of them on Sunday, and was very slightly indisposed in the evening. But on Christmas-day I almost dined on them, and was so ill that I was in great danger.' This is the *comparentia instantiarum secundum magis et minus*. 'It cannot have been the brandy which I took with them. For I have drunk brandy daily for years without being the worse for it.' This is the *rejection naturarum*. Our invalid then proceeds to what is termed by Bacon the *Vindemiatio*, and pronounces that minced pies do not agree with him.

We repeat that we dispute neither the ingenuity nor the accuracy of the theory contained in the second book of the *Novum Organum*; but we think that Bacon greatly overrated its utility. We conceive that the inductive process, like many other processes, is not likely to be better performed merely because men know how they perform it. William Tell would not have been one whit more likely to cleave the apple if he had known that his arrow would describe a parabola under the influence of the attraction of the earth. Captain Barclay would not have been more likely to walk a thousand miles in a thousand hours if he had known the place and name of every muscle in his legs. Monsieur Jourdain probably did not pronounce D and F more correctly after he had been

apprised that D is pronounced by touching the teeth with the end of the tongue, and F by putting the upper teeth on the lower lip. We cannot perceive that the study of Grammar makes the smallest difference in the speech of people who
5 have always lived in good society. Not one Londoner in ten thousand can lay down the rules for the proper use of *will* and *shall*. Yet not one Londoner in a million ever misplaces his *will* and *shall*. Doctor Robertson could, undoubtedly, have written a luminous dissertation on the use of those
10 words. Yet, even in his latest work, he sometimes misplaced them ludicrously. No man uses figures of speech with more propriety because he knows that one figure is called a metonymy and another a synecdoche. A drayman in a passion calls out, 'You are a pretty fellow,' without suspecting that
15 he is uttering irony, and that irony is one of the four primary tropes. The old systems of rhetoric were never regarded by the most experienced and discerning judges as of any use for the purpose of forming an orator. 'Ego hanc vim intelligo,' said Cicero, 'esse in præceptis omnibus, non ut ea secuti
20 oratores eloquentiæ laudem sint adepti, sed quæ sua sponte homines eloquentes facerent, ea quosdam observasse, atque id egisse; sic esse non eloquentiam ex artificio, sed artificium ex eloquentia natum.' We must own that we entertain the same opinion concerning the study of Logic which Cicero
25 entertained concerning the study of Rhetoric. A man of sense syllogizes in *celarent* and *cesare* all day long without suspecting it; and though he may not know what an *ignoratio elenchi* is, has no difficulty in exposing it whenever he falls in with it; which is likely to be as often as he falls in
30 with a Reverend Master of Arts nourished on mode and figure in the cloisters of Oxford. Considered merely as an intellectual feat, the *Organum* of Aristotle can scarcely be admired too highly. But the more we compare individual with individual, school with school, nation with nation,
35 generation with generation, the more do we lean to the opinion that the knowledge of the theory of logic has no tendency whatever to make men good reasoners.

What Aristotle did for the syllogistic process Bacon has, in the second book of the *Novum Organum*, done for the inductive process ; that is to say, he has analysed it well. His rules are quite proper ; but we do not need them, because they are drawn from our own constant practice. 5

But, though everybody is constantly performing the process described in the second book of the *Novum Organum*, some men perform it well, and some perform it ill. Some are led by it to truth, and some to error. It led Franklin to discover the nature of lightning. It led thousands, who had 10 less brains than Franklin, to believe in animal magnetism. But this was not because Franklin went through the process described by Bacon, and the dupes of Mesmer through a different process. The *comparentiæ* and *rejectiones* of which we have given examples will be found in the most unsound 15 inductions. We have heard that an eminent judge of the last generation was in the habit of jocosely propounding after dinner a theory, that the cause of the prevalence of Jacobinism was the practice of bearing three names. He quoted on the one side Charles James Fox, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, John 20 Horne Tooke, John Philpot Curran, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Theobald Wolfe Tone. These were *instantiæ convenientes*. He then proceeded to cite instances *absentiæ in proximo*, William Pitt, John Scott, William Windham, Samuel Horsley, Henry Dundas, Edmund Burke. He might have gone 25 on to instances *secundum magis et minus*. The practice of giving children three names has been for some time a growing practice, and Jacobinism has also been growing. The practice of giving children three names is more common in America than in England. In England we still have a King 30 and a House of Lords : but the Americans are republicans. The *rejectiones* are obvious. Burke and Theobald Wolfe Tone are both Irishmen ; therefore the being an Irishman is not the cause of Jacobinism. Horsley and Horne Tooke are both clergymen ; therefore the being a clergyman is not 35 the cause of Jacobinism. Fox and Windham were both educated at Oxford ; therefore the being educated at Oxford

is not the cause of Jacobinism. Pitt and Horne Tooke were both educated at Cambridge ; therefore the being educated at Cambridge is not the cause of Jacobinism. In this way, our inductive philosopher arrives at what Bacon calls the
 5 Vintage, and pronounces that the having three names is the cause of Jacobinism.

Here is an induction corresponding with Bacon's analysis, and ending in a monstrous absurdity. In what then does this induction differ from the induction which leads us to the
 10 conclusion that the presence of the sun is the cause of our having more light by day than by night? The difference evidently is not in the kind of instances, but in the number of instances ; that is to say, the difference is not in that part of the process for which Bacon has given precise rules, but
 15 in a circumstance for which no precise rule can possibly be given. If the learned author of the theory about Jacobinism had enlarged either of his tables a little, his system would have been destroyed. The names of Tom Paine and William Wyndham Grenville would have been sufficient to do the
 20 work.

It appears to us, then, that the difference between a sound and unsound induction does not lie in this, that the author of the sound induction goes through the process analysed in the second book of the *Novum Organum*, and the author of
 25 the unsound induction through a different process. They both perform the same process. But one performs it foolishly or carelessly ; the other performs it with patience, attention, sagacity, and judgment. Now precepts can do little towards making men patient and attentive, and still less towards
 30 making them sagacious and judicious. It is very well to tell men to be on their guard against prejudices, not to believe facts on slight evidence, not to be content with a scanty collection of facts, to put out of their minds the *idola* which Bacon has so finely described. But these rules are too
 35 general to be of much practical use. The question is, What is a prejudice? How long does the incredulity with which I hear a new theory propounded continue to be a wise and

salutary incredulity? When does it become an *idolum specus*, the unreasonable pertinacity of a too sceptical mind? What is slight evidence? What collection of facts is scanty? Will ten instances do, or fifty, or a hundred? In how many months would the first human beings who settled on the shores of the ocean have been justified in believing that the moon had an influence on the tides? After how many experiments would Jenner have been justified in believing that he had discovered a safeguard against the small-pox? These are questions to which it would be most desirable to have a precise answer; but, unhappily, they are questions to which no precise answer can be returned.

We think, then, that it is possible to lay down accurate rules, as Bacon has done, for the performing of that part of the inductive process which all men perform alike; but that these rules, though accurate, are not wanted, because in truth they only tell us to do what we are all doing. We think that it is impossible to lay down any precise rule for the performing of that part of the inductive process which a great experimental philosopher performs in one way, and a superstitious old woman in another.

On this subject, we think, Bacon was in an error. He certainly attributed to his rules a value which did not belong to them. He went so far as to say, that, if his method of making discoveries were adopted, little would depend on the degree of force or acuteness of any intellect; that all minds would be reduced to one level, that his philosophy resembled a compass or a rule which equalises all hands, and enables the most unpractised person to draw a more correct circle or line than the best draftsman can produce without such aid.¹ This really seems to us as extravagant as it would have been in Lindley Murray to announce that everybody who should learn his Grammar would write as good English as Dryden, or in that very able writer, the Archbishop of Dublin, to promise that all the readers of his Logic would reason like Chillingworth, and that all the readers of his Rhetoric would

¹ *Novum Organum*, Præf. and Lib. 1. Aph. 122.

5 speak like Burke. That Bacon was altogether mistaken as to this point will now hardly be disputed. His philosophy has flourished during two hundred years, and has produced none of this levelling. The interval between a man of talents and a dunce is as wide as ever; and is never more clearly discernible than when they engage in researches which require the constant use of induction.

10 It will be seen that we do not consider Bacon's ingenious analysis of the inductive method as a very useful performance. Bacon was not, as we have already said, the inventor of the inductive method. He was not even the person who first analysed the inductive method correctly, though he undoubtedly analysed it more minutely than any who preceded him. He was not the person who first showed that by the
15 inductive method alone new truth could be discovered. But he was the person who first turned the minds of speculative men, long occupied in verbal disputes, to the discovery of new and useful truth; and, by doing so, he at once gave to the inductive method an importance and dignity which had
20 never before belonged to it. He was not the maker of that road; he was not the discoverer of that road; he was not the person who first surveyed and mapped that road. But he was the person who first called the public attention to an inexhaustible mine of wealth, which had been utterly neglected,
25 and which was accessible by that road alone. By doing so he caused that road, which had previously been trodden only by peasants and higglers, to be frequented by a higher class of travellers.

30 That which was eminently his own in his system was the end which he proposed to himself. The end being given, the means, as it appears to us, could not well be mistaken. If others had aimed at the same object with Bacon, we hold it to be certain that they would have employed the same method with Bacon. It would have been hard to convince
35 Seneca that the inventing of a safety-lamp was an employment worthy of a philosopher. It would have been hard to persuade Thomas Aquinas to descend from the making of

sylogisms to the making of gunpowder. But Seneca would never have doubted for a moment that it was only by means of a series of experiments that a safety-lamp could be invented. Thomas Aquinas would never have thought that his *barbara* and *baralipon* would enable him to ascertain the proportion which charcoal ought to bear to saltpetre in a pound of gunpowder. Neither common sense nor Aristotle would have suffered him to fall into such an absurdity. 5

By stimulating men to the discovery of new truth, Bacon stimulated them to employ the inductive method, the only method, even the ancient philosophers and the schoolmen themselves being judges, by which new truth can be discovered. By stimulating men to the discovery of useful truth, he furnished them with a motive to perform the inductive process well and carefully. His predecessors had been, in his phrase, not interpreters, but anticipators of nature. They had been content with the first principles at which they had arrived by the most scanty and slovenly induction. And why was this? It was, we conceive, because their philosophy proposed to itself no practical end, because it was merely an exercise of the mind. A man who wants to contrive a new machine or a new medicine has a strong motive to observe accurately and patiently, and to try experiment after experiment. But a man who merely wants a theme for disputation or declamation has no such motive. He is therefore content with premises grounded on assumption, or on the most scanty and hasty induction. Thus, we conceive, the schoolmen acted. On their foolish premises they often argued with great ability; and as their object was 'assensum subjugare, non res,'¹ to be victorious in controversy, not to be victorious over nature, they were consistent. For just as much logical skill could be shown in reasoning on false as on true premises. But the followers of the new philosophy, proposing to themselves the discovery of useful truth as their object, must have altogether failed of attaining that 35

¹ *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1. Aph. 29.

object if they had been content to build theories on superficial induction.

Bacon has remarked¹ that in ages when philosophy was stationary, the mechanical arts went on improving. Why was this? Evidently because the mechanic was not content with so careless a mode of induction as served the purpose of the philosopher. And why was the philosopher more easily satisfied than the mechanic? Evidently because the object of the mechanic was to mould things, whilst the object of the philosopher was only to mould words. Careful induction is not at all necessary to the making of a good syllogism. But it is indispensable to the making of a good shoe. Mechanics, therefore, have always been, as far as the range of their humble but useful callings extended, not anticipators but interpreters of nature. And when a philosophy arose, the object of which was to do on a large scale what the mechanic does on a small scale, to extend the power and to supply the wants of man, the truth of the premises, which logically is a matter altogether unimportant, became a matter of the highest importance; and the careless induction with which men of learning had previously been satisfied gave place, of necessity, to an induction far more accurate and satisfactory.

What Bacon did for inductive philosophy may, we think, be fairly stated thus. The objects of preceding speculators were objects which could be attained without careful induction. Those speculators, therefore, did not perform the inductive process carefully. Bacon stirred up men to pursue an object which could be attained only by induction, and by induction carefully performed; and consequently induction was more carefully performed. We do not think that the importance of what Bacon did for inductive philosophy has ever been overrated. But we think that the nature of his services is often mistaken, and was not fully understood even by himself. It was not by furnishing philosophers with rules for performing the inductive process

¹ *De Augmentis*, Lib. 1.

well, but by furnishing them with a motive for performing it well, that he conferred so vast a benefit on society.

To give to the human mind a direction which it shall retain for ages is the rare prerogative of a few imperial spirits. It cannot, therefore, be uninteresting to inquire 5 what was the moral and intellectual constitution which enabled Bacon to exercise so vast an influence on the world.

In the temper of Bacon—we speak of Bacon the philosopher, not of Bacon the lawyer and politician—there was a singular union of audacity and sobriety. The promises 10 which he made to mankind might, to a superficial reader, seem to resemble the rants which a great dramatist has put into the mouth of an Oriental conqueror half-crazed by good fortune and by violent passions :—

‘ He shall have chariots easier than air, 15
Which I will have invented ; and thyself
Thou art the messenger shall ride before him,
On a horse cut out of an entire diamond,
That shall be made to go with golden wheels,
I know not how yet.’ 20

But Bacon performed what he promised. In truth, Fletcher would not have dared to make Arbaces promise, in his wildest fits of excitement, the tithe of what the Baconian philosophy has performed.

The true philosophical temperament may, we think, be 25 described in four words, much hope, little faith : a disposition to believe that anything, however extraordinary, may be done ; an indisposition to believe that anything extraordinary has been done. In these points the constitution of Bacon’s mind seems to us to have been absolutely perfect. He was 30 at once the Mammon and the Surly of his friend Ben. Sir Epicure did not indulge in visions more magnificent and gigantic. Surly did not sift evidence with keener and more sagacious incredulity.

Closely connected with this peculiarity of Bacon’s temper 35 was a striking peculiarity of his understanding. With great minuteness of observation, he had an amplitude of

comprehension such as has never yet been vouchsafed to any other human being. The small fine mind of Labruyère had not a more delicate tact than the large intellect of Bacon. The Essays contain abundant proofs that no nice
 5 feature of character, no peculiarity in the ordering of a house, a garden, or a court-masque, could escape the notice of one whose mind was capable of taking in the whole world of knowledge. His understanding resembled the tent which the fairy Paribanou gave to Prince Ahmed. Fold it; and
 10 it seemed a toy for the hand of a lady. Spread it; and the armies of powerful Sultans might repose beneath its shade.

In keenness of observation he has been equalled, though perhaps never surpassed. But the largeness of his mind
 15 was all his own. The glance with which he surveyed the intellectual universe resembled that which the Archangel, from the golden threshold of heaven, darted down into the new creation.

20 ‘Round he surveyed,—and well might, where he stood,
 So high above the circling canopy
 Of night’s extended shade,—from eastern point
 Of Libra, to the fleecy star which bears
 Andromeda far off Atlantic seas
 Beyond the horizon.’

25 His knowledge differed from that of other men, as a terrestrial globe differs from an Atlas which contains a different country on every leaf. The towns and roads of England, France, and Germany are better laid down in the Atlas than in the globe. But while we are looking at
 30 England we see nothing of France; and while we are looking at France we see nothing of Germany. We may go to the Atlas to learn the bearings and distances of York and Bristol, or of Dresden and Prague. But it is useless if we want to know the bearings and distances of France and
 35 Martinique, or of England and Canada. On the globe we shall not find all the market towns in our own neighbourhood; but we shall learn from it the comparative extent and

the relative position of all the kingdoms of the earth. 'I have taken,' said Bacon, in a letter written when he was only thirty-one, to his uncle Lord Burleigh, 'I have taken all knowledge to be my province.' In any other young man, indeed in any other man, this would have been a ridiculous flight of presumption. There have been thousands of better mathematicians, astronomers, chemists, physicians, botanists, mineralogists, than Bacon. No man would go to Bacon's works to learn any particular science or art, any more than he would go to a twelve-inch globe in order to find his way from Kennington turnpike to Clapham Common. The art which Bacon taught was the art of inventing arts. The knowledge in which Bacon excelled all men was a knowledge of the mutual relations of all departments of knowledge.

The mode in which he communicated his thoughts was peculiar to him. He had no touch of that disputatious temper which he often censured in his predecessors. He effected a vast intellectual revolution in opposition to a vast mass of prejudices; yet he never engaged in any controversy: nay, we cannot at present recollect, in all his philosophical works, a single passage of a controversial character. All those works might with propriety have been put into the form which he adopted in the work entitled *Cogitata et Visa*: 'Franciscus Baconus sic cogitavit.' These are thoughts which have occurred to me: weigh them well: and take them or leave them.

Borgia said of the famous expedition of Charles the Eighth, that the French had conquered Italy, not with steel, but with chalk; for that the only exploit which they had found necessary for the purpose of taking military occupation of any place had been to mark the doors of the houses where they meant to quarter. Bacon often quoted this saying, and loved to apply it to the victories of his own intellect.¹ His philosophy, he said, came as a guest, not as an enemy. She found no difficulty in gaining admittance, without a contest, into every understanding fitted, by its structure, and by its

¹ *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1. Aph. 35, and elsewhere.

capacity, to receive her. In all this, we think that he acted most judiciously; first, because, as he has himself remarked, the difference between his school and other schools was a difference so fundamental that there was hardly any common
5 ground on which a controversial battle could be fought: and, secondly, because his mind, eminently observant, pre-eminently discursive and capacious, was, we conceive, neither formed by nature nor disciplined by habit for dialectical combat.

- 10 . Though Bacon did not arm his philosophy with the weapons of logic, he adorned her profusely with all the richest decorations of rhetoric. His eloquence, though not untainted with the vicious taste of his age, would alone have entitled him to a high rank in literature. He had a wonder-
15 ful talent for packing thought close, and rendering it portable. In wit, if by wit be meant the power of perceiving analogies between things which appear to have nothing in common, he never had an equal, not even Cowley, not even the author of *Hudibras*. Indeed he possessed this faculty, or rather
20 this faculty possessed him, to a morbid degree. When he abandoned himself to it without reserve, as he did in the *Sapientia Veterum*, and at the end of the second book of the *De Augmentis*, the feats which he performed were not merely admirable, but portentous, and almost shocking. On those
25 occasions we marvel at him as clowns on a fair day marvel at a juggler, and can hardly help thinking that the devil must be in him.

- These, however, were freaks in which his ingenuity now and then wantoned, with scarcely any other object than to
30 astonish and amuse. But it occasionally happened that, when he was engaged in grave and profound investigations, his wit obtained the mastery over all his other faculties, and led him into absurdities into which no dull man could possibly have fallen. We will give the most striking
35 instance which at present occurs to us. In the third book of the *De Augmentis* he tells us that there are some principles which are not peculiar to one science, but are common to

several. That part of philosophy which concerns itself with these principles is, in his nomenclature, designated as *philosophia prima*. He then proceeds to mention some of the principles with which this *philosophia prima* is conversant. One of them is this. An infectious disease is more likely to be communicated while it is in progress than when it has reached its height. This, says he, is true in medicine. It is also true in morals; for we see that the example of very abandoned men injures public morality less than the example of men in whom vice has not yet extinguished all good qualities. Again, he tells us that in music a discord ending in a concord is agreeable, and that the same thing may be noted in the affections. Once more, he tells us, that in physics the energy with which a principle acts is often increased by the antiperistasis of its opposite; and that it is the same in the contests of factions. If the making of ingenious and sparkling similitudes like these be indeed the *philosophia prima*, we are quite sure that the greatest philosophical work of the nineteenth century is Mr. Moore's *Lalla Rookh*. The similitudes which we have cited are very happy similitudes. But that a man like Bacon should have taken them for more, that he should have thought the discovery of such resemblances as these an important part of philosophy, has always appeared to us one of the most singular facts in the history of letters.

The truth is that his mind was wonderfully quick in perceiving analogies of all sorts. But, like several eminent men whom we could name, both living and dead, he sometimes appeared strangely deficient in the power of distinguishing rational from fanciful analogies, analogies which are arguments from analogies which are mere illustrations, analogies like that which Bishop Butler so ably pointed out, between natural and revealed religion, from analogies like that which Addison discovered, between the series of Grecian gods carved by Phidias and the series of English kings painted by Kneller. This want of discrimination has led to many strange political speculations. Sir William Temple

deduced a theory of government from the properties of the pyramid. Mr. Southey's whole system of finance is grounded on the phenomena of evaporation and rain. In theology, this perverted ingenuity has made still wilder
 5 work. From the time of Irenæus and Origen down to the present day, there has not been a single generation in which great divines have not been led into the most absurd expositions of Scripture, by mere incapacity to distinguish analogies proper, to use the scholastic phrase, from analogies metaphorical.¹
 10 mentioned this very kind of delusion among the *idola specus*; and has mentioned it in language which, we are inclined to think, shows that he knew himself to be subject to it. It is the vice, he tells us, of subtle minds to attach
 15 too much importance to slight distinctions; it is the vice, on the other hand, of high and discursive intellects to attach too much importance to slight resemblances; and he adds that, when this last propensity is indulged to excess, it leads men to catch at shadows instead of substances.²

20 Yet we cannot wish that Bacon's wit had been less luxuriant. For, to say nothing of the pleasure which it affords, it was in the vast majority of cases employed for the purpose of making obscure truth plain, of making repulsive truth attractive, of fixing in the mind for ever truth which
 25 might otherwise have left but a transient impression.

The poetical faculty was powerful in Bacon's mind, but not, like his wit, so powerful as occasionally to usurp the place of his reason, and to tyrannise over the whole man. No imagination was ever at once so strong and so thoroughly
 30 subjugated. It never stirred but at a signal from good sense. It stopped at the first check from good sense. Yet, though disciplined to such obedience, it gave noble proofs of its vigour. In truth, much of Bacon's life was passed in a visionary world, amidst things as strange as any that are

¹ See some interesting remarks on this subject in Bishop Berkeley's *Minute Philosopher*, Dialogue IV.

² *Novum Organum*, Lib. 1. Aph. 55.

described in the Arabian Tales, or in those romances on which the curate and barber of Don Quixote's village performed so cruel an *auto-da-fé*, amidst buildings more sumptuous than the palace of Aladdin, fountains more wonderful than the golden water of Parizade, conveyances more rapid than the hippogryph of Ruggiero, arms more formidable than the lance of Astolfo, remedies more efficacious than the balsam of Fierabras. Yet in his magnificent day-dreams there was nothing wild, nothing but what sober reason sanctioned. He knew that all the secrets feigned by poets to have been written in the books of enchanters are worthless when compared with the mighty secrets which are really written in the book of nature, and which, with time and patience, will be read there. He knew that all the wonders wrought by all the talismans in fable were trifles when compared to the wonders which might reasonably be expected from the philosophy of fruit, and that, if his words sank deep into the minds of men, they would produce effects such as superstition had never ascribed to the incantations of Merlin and Michael Scot. It was here that he loved to let his imagination loose. He loved to picture to himself the world as it would be when his philosophy should, in his own noble phrase, 'have enlarged the bounds of human empire.'¹ We might refer to many instances. But we will content ourselves with the strongest, the description of the House of Solomon in the New Atlantis. By most of Bacon's contemporaries, and by some people of our time, this remarkable passage would, we doubt not, be considered as an ingenious rodomontade, a counterpart to the adventures of Sinbad or Baron Munchausen. The truth is that there is not to be found in any human composition a passage more eminently distinguished by profound and serene wisdom. The boldness and originality of the fiction are far less wonderful than the nice discernment which carefully excluded from that long list of prodigies everything that can be pronounced impossible, everything that can be proved to lie beyond the mighty

¹ New Atlantis.

magic of induction and of time. Already some parts, and not the least startling parts, of this glorious prophecy have been accomplished, even according to the letter; and the whole, construed according to the spirit, is daily accomplishing all around us.

One of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of Bacon's mind is the order in which its powers expanded themselves. With him the fruit came first and remained till the last; the blossoms did not appear till late. In general the developement of the fancy is to the developement of the judgment what the growth of a girl is to the growth of a boy. The fancy attains at an earlier period to the perfection of its beauty, its power, and its fruitfulness; and, as it is first to ripen, it is also first to fade. It has generally lost something of its bloom and freshness before the sterner faculties have reached maturity; and is commonly withered and barren while those faculties still retain all their energy. It rarely happens that the fancy and the judgment grow together. It happens still more rarely that the judgment grows faster than the fancy. This seems, however, to have been the case with Bacon. His boyhood and youth appear to have been singularly sedate. His gigantic scheme of philosophical reform is said by some writers to have been planned before he was fifteen, and was undoubtedly planned while he was still young. He observed as vigilantly, meditated as deeply, and judged as temperately when he gave his first work to the world as at the close of his long career. But in eloquence, in sweetness and variety of expression, and in richness of illustration, his later writings are far superior to those of his youth. In this respect the history of his mind bears some resemblance to the history of the mind of Burke. The treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful, though written on a subject which the coldest metaphysician could hardly treat without being occasionally betrayed into florid writing, is the most unadorned of all Burke's works. It appeared when he was twenty-five or twenty-six. When, at forty, he wrote the Thoughts on the Causes of the existing Discontents, his

reason and his judgment had reached their full maturity; but his eloquence was still in its splendid dawn. At fifty, his rhetoric was quite as rich as good taste would permit; and when he died, at almost seventy, it had become ungracefully gorgeous. In his youth he wrote on the emotions produced by mountains and cascades, by the masterpieces of painting and sculpture, by the faces and necks of beautiful women, in the style of a parliamentary report. In his old age, he discussed treaties and tariffs in the most fervid and brilliant language of romance. It is strange that the *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*, and the *Letter to a Noble Lord*, should be the productions of one man. But it is far more strange that the *Essay* should have been a production of his youth, and the *Letter* of his old age. 5 10

We will give very short specimens of Bacon's two styles. In 1597 he wrote thus: 'Crafty men contemn studies; simple men admire them; and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use: that is a wisdom without them, and won by observation. Read not to contradict, nor to believe, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested. Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, have a present wit; and if he read little, have much cunning to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise, poets witty, the mathematics subtle, natural philosophy deep, morals grave, logic and rhetoric able to contend.' It will hardly be disputed that this is a passage to be 'chewed and digested.' We do not believe that Thucydides himself has anywhere compressed so much thought into so small a space. 15 20 25 30

In the additions which Bacon afterwards made to the *Essays*, there is nothing superior in truth or weight to what we have quoted. But his style was constantly becoming richer and softer. The following passage, first published in 1625, will show the extent of the change: 'Prosperity is the blessing 35

of the Old Testament ; adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction and the clearer evidence of God's favour. Yet, even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp you shall hear as many hearse-
 5 like airs as carols ; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes ; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries it is more pleasing
 10 to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground. Judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed ; for pro-
 15 sperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.'

It is by the Essays that Bacon is best known to the multitude. The *Novum Organum* and the *De Augmentis* are much talked of, but little read. They have produced
 20 indeed a vast effect on the opinions of mankind ; but they have produced it through the operation of intermediate agents. They have moved the intellects which have moved the world. It is in the Essays alone that the mind of Bacon is brought into immediate contact with the minds of ordinary
 25 readers. There he opens an exoteric school, and talks to plain men, in language which everybody understands, about things in which everybody is interested. He has thus enabled those who must otherwise have taken his merits on trust to judge for themselves ; and the great body of readers
 30 have, during several generations, acknowledged that the man who has treated with such consummate ability questions with which they are familiar may well be supposed to deserve all the praise bestowed on him by those who have sat in his inner school.

35 Without any disparagement to the admirable treatise *De Augmentis*, we must say that, in our judgment, Bacon's greatest performance is the first book of the *Novum Organum*.

All the peculiarities of his extraordinary mind are found there in the highest perfection. Many of the aphorisms, but particularly those in which he gives examples of the influence of the *idola*, show a nicety of observation that has never been surpassed. Every part of the book blazes with wit, but with wit 5 which is employed only to illustrate and decorate truth. No book ever made so great a revolution in the mode of thinking, overthrew so many prejudices, introduced so many new opinions. Yet no book was ever written in a less contentious spirit. It truly conquers with chalk and not with steel. Pro- 10 position after proposition enters into the mind, is received not as an invader, but as a welcome friend, and, though previously unknown, becomes at once domesticated. But what we most admire is the vast capacity of that intellect which, without effort, takes in at once all the domains of science, all the 15 past, the present, and the future, all the errors of two thousand years, all the encouraging signs of the passing times, all the bright hopes of the coming age. Cowley, who was among the most ardent, and not among the least discerning followers of the new philosophy, has, in one of 20 his finest poems, compared Bacon to Moses standing on Mount Pisgah. It is to Bacon, we think, as he appears in the first book of the *Novum Organum*, that the comparison applies with peculiar felicity. There we see the great Law-giver looking round from his lonely elevation on an infinite 25 expanse; behind him a wilderness of dreary sands and bitter waters in which successive generations have sojourned, always moving, yet never advancing, reaping no harvest, and building no abiding city; before him a goodly land, a land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey. While the 30 multitude below saw only the flat sterile desert in which they had so long wandered, bounded on every side by a near horizon, or diversified only by some deceitful mirage, he was gazing from a far higher stand on a far lovelier country, following with his eye the long course of fertilising rivers, 35 through ample pastures, and under the bridges of great capitals, measuring the distances of marts and havens, and

portioning out all those wealthy regions from Dan to Beersheba.

It is painful to turn back from contemplating Bacon's philosophy to contemplate his life. Yet without so turning
5 back it is impossible fairly to estimate his powers. He left the University at an earlier age than that at which most people repair thither. While yet a boy he was plunged into the midst of diplomatic business. Thence he passed to the study of a vast technical system of law, and worked his way
10 up through a succession of laborious offices to the highest post in his profession. In the meantime he took an active part in every Parliament; he was an adviser of the Crown; he paid court with the greatest assiduity and address to all whose favour was likely to be of use to him; he lived much
15 in society; he noted the slightest peculiarities of character and the slightest changes of fashion. Scarcely any man has led a more stirring life than that which Bacon led from sixteen to sixty. Scarcely any man has been better entitled to be called a thorough man of the world. The founding of
20 a new philosophy, the imparting of a new direction to the minds of speculators, this was the amusement of his leisure, the work of hours occasionally stolen from the Woolsack and the Council Board. This consideration, while it increases the admiration with which we regard his intellect,
25 increases also our regret that such an intellect should so often have been unworthily employed. He well knew the better course, and had, at one time, resolved to pursue it. 'I confess,' said he in a letter written when he was still young, 'that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have
30 moderate civil ends.' Had his civil ends continued to be moderate, he would have been, not only the Moses, but the Joshua of philosophy. He would have fulfilled a large part of his own magnificent predictions. He would have led his followers, not only to the verge, but into the heart of the
35 promised land. He would not merely have pointed out, but would have divided the spoil. Above all, he would have left, not only a great, but a spotless name. Mankind would then

have been able to esteem their illustrious benefactor. We should not then be compelled to regard his character with mingled contempt and admiration, with mingled aversion and gratitude. We should not then regret that there should be so many proofs of the narrowness and selfishness of a heart, the benevolence of which was yet large enough to take in all races and all ages. We should not then have to blush for the disingenuousness of the most devoted worshipper of speculative truth, for the servility of the boldest champion of intellectual freedom. We should not then have seen the same man at one time far in the van, and at another time far in the rear of his generation. We should not then be forced to own that he who first treated legislation as a science was among the last Englishmen who used the rack, that he who first summoned philosophers to the great work of interpreting nature was among the last Englishmen who sold justice. And we should conclude our survey of a life placidly, honourably, beneficently passed, 'in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries,'¹ with feelings very different from those with which we now turn away from the checkered spectacle of so much glory and so much shame.

¹ From a Letter of Bacon to Lord Burleigh.

WITHDRAWN

NOTES

AUTHORITIES

(i) BACON'S WORKS.

THE Standard Edition of Bacon's writings and speeches is Spedding's 'Works of Francis Bacon'¹ (7 vols.) and 'The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon'² (7 vols.). This supersedes all other editions on account of its completeness, its accuracy, and its editor's comments. Everything that the student is likely to want is in it—if he can only find it. It has nine indexes instead of one!

The best edition of the 'Novum Organum' is Fowler's. The introduction is in English, but the text in the original Latin only.

There are many good editions of the 'Essays.' I think that the best for the student who wants to study them, not merely as literature but in their relation to Bacon's life and philosophy, is Dr. Abbott's (2 vols.). The growth and development of the 'Essays' from edition to edition are best displayed in Arber's 'Harmony.'

The best edition of the 'Advancement of Learning' is Aldis Wright's.

(ii) LIFE.

The fullest and most accurate account of Bacon's life is contained in Spedding's second seven volumes, but the facts

¹ Quoted in the Notes as 'Spedding, Works.'

² Quoted in the Notes as 'Spedding, Letters.'

are distributed in patches between the letters, and for want of one index reference to them is difficult. They are presented continuously in his 'Life and Times of Francis Bacon' (2 vols.).

Dr. Abbott's 'Francis Bacon: an Account of his Life and Works,' is careful and interesting, but Dr. Abbott, though less rhetorical in his censure than Lord Macaulay, is almost as severe.

The biography contained in the sixteen-volume edition which forms the subject of the Essay was published separately as 'The Life of Francis Bacon.'¹ The information which it contains, though badly arranged, is full and exceedingly accurate. The few errors in it are on matters about which fresh facts have been discovered since Montagu wrote, and the views which it takes Macaulay many pages to controvert took Montagu very few pages to express.

(iii) COMMENT.

The fullest account of Bacon's philosophy is contained in the first five volumes of Spedding's 'Works,' and in Fowler's 'Novum Organum.' A clear, popular account is given in Fowler's 'Bacon,' and in Nichol's 'Francis Bacon' (2 vols.). In Dean Church's 'Bacon' the subject is regarded more from a literary than from a scientific point of view.

(iv) GENERAL.

'The Dictionary of National Biography' (66 vols.) is an incomparably rich treasury of facts concerning the lives of the famous, moderately famous or infamous men and women who have lived, moved, and had their being in the British Isles.

Dr. Gardiner's 'History of England,' 1603-1642 (10 vols.) is the best aid to seeing the life of Bacon (during its last third) in due relation to the life of the nation.

¹ Quoted in the Notes as 'Montagu.'

(v) MACAULAY.

The standard biography of Macaulay is Trevelyan's 'Life.'

The best brief biography, with judicial comments on his style, is J. Cotter Morison's.

Stimulating criticisms will be found in Stephen's 'Hours in a Library' (vol. ii.) and Bagehot's 'Literary Studies' (vol. ii.).

P. 1. Lord Bacon.—It is now considered a solecism, when the family name of a peer differs from his title, to place 'Lord' before the former. To speak of Lord Verulam or Viscount St. Alban as 'Lord Bacon' is therefore as inaccurate as to call the Earl of Beaconsfield 'Lord Disraeli,' or the Earl of Rosebery 'Lord Primrose'; but the practice was formerly not so uniform. Rowley, the chaplain and first biographer, and Ben Jonson, a contemporary panegyrist, of Bacon, both speak of him as 'Lord Bacon.' Montagu uses the term, but it is surprising that Macaulay, who was generally so fastidious in such matters, should follow his bad example.

'On July 12, 1618, Bacon was created Baron Verulam of Verulam. Whether this justifies us in styling him "Baron of Verulam" (as has been commonly done for the last two hundred years wherever his titles are enumerated) is a disputable question, but not one in which his own reputation is interested. He never used that addition himself, but styled himself, if writing English, "Francis, Lord Verulam"; if writing Latin, "Franciscus de Verulamio"; and it was doubtless as Verulam, or Lord Verulam, that he expected the next ages to know him and speak of him. I think everybody who has been concerned with him as editor or biographer must agree with me in regretting that the next ages did not take the hint. Being invited to call him by a name as handsome in sound and associations as any that England could have furnished, they have fixed upon him one of the ugliest and most vulgar; a name associated chiefly with the poorest kind of joke (and quite as much so since he bore it as before), and so commonplace, that in order to make it serve the purpose of distinguishing him from the rest of his surname at all, they have been obliged to invest it with a title to which it never had any pretence. An attempt has indeed been made of late to justify the title of "Lord Bacon" by the analogy of "Lord Coke," "Lord Hale," and others. And it is true that chief justices retained in popular speech the prefix of "Lord," though never made peers. But this practice did not extend to the judges in Chancery. Sir Thomas More was Lord Chancellor More, but was never called Lord More, Sir Nicholas Bacon was Lord Keeper Bacon, but was never called Lord Bacon. And so through all the list of

Lord Keepers, Lord Chancellors, and Masters of the Rolls. Francis Bacon is the only one who even in popular speech ever bore the prefix of "Lord" otherwise than in conjunction with the title under which he was called to the Upper House. How his case came to be an exception it is not difficult to divine. While he was only Sir Francis Bacon, he had acquired a popular reputation under that name. As long as he was Lord Verulam, he was also Lord Chancellor, and was so spoken of. When he ceased to be Lord Chancellor, he ceased to be before the public, and was scarcely spoken of at all. Hence it happened that people never became familiar with either of his proper titles of nobility. When Lord Verulam or Lord St. Alban was spoken of, it was necessary to explain that the person meant was Sir Francis Bacon; and thus the surname, which he had himself meant to part with for ever, had to reappear upon the title-pages of his works. And when in the course of time other candidates arose for both his other names—when "Lord St. Albans" was a De Burgh or a Jermyn, and "Lord Verulam" a Grimston—the patronymic, already popular, became indispensable. As a man he must be Bacon: as a peer he must be Lord: and the two together make "Lord Bacon." And so, I fear, it must remain. To correct the name by which a famous man is popularly known is a vain ambition, and I can do no more than abstain in my own person from committing or sanctioning the barbarism. The surname, though a continual annoyance, I am obliged continually to use; but the false title may be dispensed with, if people are so disposed.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' VI. 316.)

P. 1.—**The Essay** occupied the first 104 pages of the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1837. In a footnote the editor apologises for its extreme length, but he could not think it possible that there was 'any intelligent scholar who, on perusal, could wish it shorter.' It is true that it might have been published in two parts, but division was contrary to the practice of the *Review*, and would have been more likely to disappoint than gratify readers.

The Essay was written in India, during those brief intervals of leisure from official duties which most men would have devoted to rest. In a letter to Macvey Napier, the editor, dated Calcutta, November 26, 1836, Macaulay says: 'At last I send you an article of interminable length about Lord Bacon. I hardly know whether it is not too long for an article in a Review; but the subject is of such vast extent that I could easily have made the paper twice as long as it is.'

'About the historical and political part there is no great probability that we shall differ in opinion; but what I have said about Bacon's philosophy is widely at variance with what Dugald Stuart [*sic*] and Mackintosh have said on the same subject. I have not your essay, nor have I read it since I read it at Cambridge, with very great pleasure, but without any knowledge of the subject. I have at present only a very faint and general recollection of its contents, and have in vain tried to procure a copy of it here. I fear, however, that, differing widely as I do from Stewart [*sic*] and Mackintosh, I shall hardly agree with you. My opinion is formed, not at second hand, like those of nine-tenths of the people who talk about Bacon, but after several very attentive perusals of his greatest

works, and after a good deal of thought. If I am in the wrong, my errors may set the minds of others at work, and may be the means of bringing both them and me to a knowledge of the truth. I never bestowed so much care on anything that I have written. There is not a sentence in the latter half of the article which has not been repeatedly recast. I have no expectation that the popularity of the article will bear any proportion to the trouble which I have expended on it. But the trouble has been so great a pleasure to me that I have already been greatly overpaid. Pray look carefully to the printing.' (Trevelyan's 'Life' [Popular Edition], p. 327.)

The 'essay' to which Macaulay refers was a paper 'On the Scope and Influence of the Philosophical Writings of Bacon,' read by Napier before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1818. To this paper G. H. Lewes says ('Biographical History of Philosophy,' p. 377) that it was by far the best dissertation on the subject that he had met, 'full of curious matter and recondite research.'

P. 1, l. 1. **Mr. Montagu.**—Basil Montagu (1770–1851), a natural son of the Earl of Sandwich. He was called to the bar in 1798, and gradually acquired an extensive practice in Chancery and Bankruptcy. In 1806 he was appointed Commissioner, and in 1835 Accountant-General in Bankruptcy. He wrote a very large number of pamphlets on the reform of the bankruptcy laws and on other legal subjects.

When he first went on circuit Sir James Mackintosh interested him in the study of Bacon. In 1821 he wrote two articles on the 'Novum Organum' for the *Retrospective Review*, and from 1825 to 1837 he was occupied with the edition here criticised by Macaulay. Montagu resented the strictures on his work, to which he replied in a pamphlet.

Montagu was a friend of Coleridge, Lamb, and Wordsworth, and at one time of the Carlyles. His little son is the 'Edward' of Wordsworth's two poems, 'Anecdote for Fathers' and 'To my Sister.' The intimacy with the Carlyles was broken by an offer of a clerkship in Montagu's office at 200*l.* a year. Carlyle, describing the offer, says, 'I listened with grave fixed eyes to the sovereign of quacks as he mewed out all the fine sentimentalities he had stuffed into this beggarly count of empty boxes . . . and with grave thanks for the potentiality of a clerkship took my leave that night.' (Froude, 'Carlyle's Life in London,' I. 71.)

P. 1, l. 9. **This volume.**—When Macaulay revised his article for separate publication he forgot that he had struck out of the first paragraph all mention of 'the instructive life of the immortal author contained in the last volume' of the sixteen reviewed.

P. 1, l. 12. **Acquainted with the Courts.**—Macaulay was himself well acquainted with those Courts, as he had been made a Commissioner in Bankruptcy in January 1828.

P. 1, l. 16. **De Augustis . . . Novum Organum.**—Two of Bacon's greatest works. See p. 47, l. 33; p. 87, l. 28; p. 48, l. 1; pp. 89 et seqq.

P. 2, l. 1. **His weakness.**—Macaulay might have shortened this Essay considerably if he had resisted the temptation to prove the obvious.

His readers would have admitted, without his elaborate demonstration, that we are disposed to magnify the merits and minimise the faults of those whom we admire. In his first Essay on Pitt he is content to say that biographers 'are peculiarly exposed to the *Lues Boswelliana* or disease of admiration.'

P. 2, l. 16. **Idola tribus.**—Bacon's characteristic doctrine of the Idols¹ is developed in the first book of the 'Novum Organum.' There are said (I. xxxix.) to be four species of idols which beset the human mind, and make it difficult of access to truth. These are the idols of the tribe, the idols of the den, the idols of the market, and the idols of the theatre.

The idols of the tribe (*idola tribus*) are inherent in human nature and the very tribe or race of man; and the human mind resembles those uneven mirrors which impart their own properties to different objects from which rays are emitted and distort and disfigure them (I. xli.).

The idols of the den (*idola specus*) are those of each individual, for everybody has his own individual den or cavern which intercepts and corrupts the light of nature, either from his own peculiar and singular disposition or from his education and intercourse with others, or from his reading, &c. (I. xlii.).

The idols of the market (*idola fori*) are those formed from the commerce and association of men with each other. Men converse by means of words, and as these convey different meanings to different minds they throw everything into confusion, and lead to innumerable controversies and fallacies (I. xliii.). Bacon regarded these as the most troublesome of all the idols, for men imagine that their reason governs words, whereas in fact words re-act upon the understanding. Hence the great and solemn disputations of learned men often terminate in differences about words and names (I. lix.).

The idols of the theatre (*idola theatri*) have crept into men's minds from the various dogmas of peculiar systems of philosophy, and also from the perverted rules of demonstration. Bacon called these the idols of the theatre because he regarded all previous systems of philosophy as so many plays brought out and performed, creating fictitious and theatrical worlds (I. xliiv.).

P. 2, l. 26. **Sallust** (86–34 B.C.), the first artistic historian among the Romans. In his youth he was guilty of the wildest excesses, and at the age of thirty-six his immorality was made the pretext for turning him out of the Senate, though the real cause was his support of Cæsar. Three years later he was made Pro-Consul of Numidia (in North Africa), where he

¹ The student will remember that the 'Novum Organum' was written in Latin. The authorities are not agreed as to the English word which best renders Bacon's meaning. *Idolum* (pl. *idola*) is the Latin representative of the Greek *εἶδωλον*, *eidōlon*, whose primary meaning is a shape, image, spectre, phantom—an image of a god, and hence an idol, being only a derived meaning. Some maintain that Bacon by *idola* meant a species of illusion or false appearance, and others that he meant a false divinity before whom the mind bows. He himself in the 'De Augmentis' says *Idola sive imagines*, idols or images.

plundered so outrageously that only the protection of Caesar saved him from condemnation. The only complete works of his extant are the 'Conspiracy of Catiline' and the 'Jugurthine War.'

P. 2, l. 30. **Clarendon**.—Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon (1609–1674), the faithful Counsellor of Charles I. and Charles II., and author of the 'History of the Rebellion.' 'The oppressor and the bigot' appeared in the 'Clarendon Code,' the harsh laws against Dissenters passed when he was chief minister.

P. 2, l. 32. **Falstaff**.—See Shakspeare's 'Henry IV.' (both parts), 'Henry V.,' and the 'Merry Wives of Windsor.'

P. 2, l. 32. **Tom Jones**.—The hero of Fielding's novel of the same name.

P. 2, l. 33. **Shakspeare cudgelled**.—A tradition (which appears to be credible) says that Shakspeare, when a young fellow, fell into bad company, and more than once joined in stealing deer from the park of Sir Thomas Lucy at Charlecote, near Stratford-on-Avon.

P. 2, l. 34. **Fielding**.—Henry Fielding (1707–1754), the greatest novelist of the eighteenth century. He was often in want of money, and may possibly have been reduced to 'bilking' landladies.

P. 2, l. 34. **Bilked**.—*Bilk*, though a little higher than slang, is not a dignified word for cheating, defrauding a person of his due. Its origin is unknown.

P. 3, ll. 12–27. **These friendships . . . Bossuet**.—Walter Bagehot ('Literary Studies,' ii. 7) quotes this passage in support of his contention that Macaulay thought literature more instructive than life, and preferred the literary delineation of objects to the actual eyesight of them. He adds: 'But Bossuet is dead; and Cicero was a Roman; and Plato wrote in Greek. Years and manners separate us from the great. After dinner Demosthenes *may* come unseasonably; Dante *might* stay too long. We are alienated from the politician, and have a horror of the theologian. Dreadful idea, having Demosthenes for an intimate friend! He had pebbles in his mouth; he was always urging action; he spoke such good Greek; we cannot dwell on it—it is too much. Only a mind impassive to our daily life, unalive to bores and evils, to joys and sorrows, incapable of the deepest sympathies, a prey to print, could imagine it. The mass of men have stronger ties and warmer hopes. The exclusive devotion to books tires. We require to love and hate, to act and live.'

P. 3, l. 23. **Plato**, a great Greek philosopher; **Cervantes**, a great Spanish novelist (author of 'Don Quixote'); **Demosthenes**, a great Greek orator; **Dante**, a great Italian poet (author of the Divine Comedy); **Cicero**, a great Roman orator; **Bossuet**, a great French preacher.

P. 4, l. 18. **Middleton's**.—As if Macaulay had not wandered far enough from his main subject to prove that men admire what they admire, he digresses from his digression to condemn Middleton's 'Cicero.'

Conyers Middleton (1683–1750), a wrangling theologian and scholar, published in 1741 a life of Cicero, discovered afterwards to be largely stolen from a forgotten book of the preceding century. Perhaps Macaulay turns out of his path to attack his memory because Middleton had had a bitter dispute with Macaulay's favourite, Bentley.

P. 4, l. 25. **Epiphanius**, who in the latter part of the fourth century was Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, had a keen nose for heresy. In his chief work he discovers twenty heretical sects before the birth of Christ! His turbulent life was chiefly spent in struggling for the success of the doctrines which he considered orthodox.

P. 4, l. 26. **Justin Martyr** was born about 100 A.D. After studying the philosophy of Greece he became a Christian, though he retained the garb of a philosopher and went about disputing on his new belief. Of his supposed martyrdom nothing certain appears to be known.

P. 4, ll. 29–31. **So wary . . . believed.**—Macaulay has either deliberately altered the lines or his marvellous memory has played him false. They occur in Scott's 'Marmion' (Canto III. stanza xxx.). The squire, Fitz-Eustace, is following his master, Marmion, to a Pictish camp.

‘Wonder it seemed, in the squire’s eyes,
That one, so wary held, and wise,—
Of whom ’twas said he scarce received
For gospel what the Church believed,—
Should, stirred by idle tale,
Ride forth in silence of the night,
As hoping half to meet a sprite,
Arrayed in plate and mail.’

P. 4, l. 32. **Iconoclast.**—An image breaker, from *εἰκών*, *eikōn*, an image, and *κλάστης*, *klastēs*, a breaker. The Iconoclasts were a party which rose in the Eastern Church in the eighth century opposed to the use of sacred images. Several of the Eastern emperors issued decrees forbidding the use of such images, but the attempt to enforce the decrees led to great tumults.

P. 4, l. 33. **Avvocato del Diavolo.**—The devil's advocate. In the Roman Church, before a person is canonised (that is, admitted into the list of saints) his qualifications are strictly scrutinised and an *advocatus diaboli* or *fra di diavolo* is appointed to urge all that can be said against the character of the candidate. Macaulay assigns the part to Middleton, who, in his controversial writings, had disputed the claims of Cyprian and Athanasius.

P. 4, l. 34. **Cyprian.**—A celebrated Father of the Church (200?–258), Bishop of Carthage.

P. 4, l. 35. **Athanasius** flourished in the fourth century. He was Patriarch of Alexandria, and a great defender of the faith against the Arians. He wrote many works on the mystery of the Trinity, the Incarnation, &c., but not the Creed called after him.

P. 4, l. 35. **Calendar.**—A list of canonised saints. In Latin an account book was called a *calendarium* because accounts were due on the *calends*. The word hence came to mean a list of the days of the year, and, particularly, a list giving opposite the various days the names of the saints to which they were dedicated.

P. 4, l. 36. **Lying legend.**—Many of the stories told of the saints passed belief, and Macaulay implies that, in some cases at any rate, the 'lying legends' led to the canonisation. He more than implies that Middleton composed 'a lying legend in honour of St. Tully'—in other words, went beyond the bounds of truth in the hope of raising Cicero in the public esteem.

P. 4, l. 36. **St. Tully.**—The full name of the orator was Marcus Tullius Cicero, and during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Englishmen generally spoke of him as Tully—the anglicised form of his second name.

P. 5, l. 13. **Trimmer.**—A politician who vacillates between opposing parties.

'He [Halifax] was the chief of those politicians whom the two great parties contemptuously called *Trimmers*.' (Macaulay, 'History,' ch. ii.)

P. 5, l. 27. **Tree . . . fruit.**—'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. . . . Wherefore, by their fruits ye shall know them.' (Matt. VII. 18–20.)

Macaulay accuses Montagu of reversing this process and, starting with the assumption that the tree was good, arguing that the fruit must therefore be good also.

P. 6, l. 13. **Sir Nicholas Bacon** (1509–1579) was created Lord Keeper of the Great Seal immediately after the accession of Elizabeth.

The Great Seal is that with which State documents are impressed. The officer who now has charge of it is the Lord Chancellor.

P. 6, l. 32. **The Hotspurs.**—During the reigns of Elizabeth's immediate predecessors, the Percies (Harry Hotspur was a Percy), the Nevilles, and the Cliffords were among the most powerful and most active families in the country, and Macaulay names them as belonging to one type.

P. 7, l. 2. **The Schools.**—A term applied specifically to those mediæval places of instruction where logic, philosophy, and theology were taught. The teachers were called *the schoolmen*, and their aims, methods, and practices of thought, *scholasticism*. As the authority of Aristotle in the schools was scarcely inferior to that of the sacred writers, and as Bacon's great position in the world of science was achieved by his enunciation and advocacy of a method of investigation the very opposite of Aristotle's, some account must be given of the schools.

When the various states of Western Europe began to rise slowly above the ruins of the Roman Empire, the custodians of the little learning that was left were Churchmen. Monasteries were the homes of knowledge and the centres of instruction, and the first universities were, practically, religious institutions. It is not therefore surprising

that theology was the chief subject of study, and that other subjects were brought into relation with theology. This was founded not on the Scriptures alone, but on the Scriptures interpreted and supplemented by the writings of the Fathers, the decrees of Councils, and the authority of the Church. Logic was the handmaid whose function was to prove its truths in syllogistic form.

This form was derived from Aristotle, but in the ninth century, when scholasticism had its birth, his writings did not exist in Western Europe, and if they had existed there was nobody who could read them. Only his logic was known, and that was known only in the form of abstracts and translations. But in the thirteenth century his writings on Natural Science, Metaphysics, and Ethics were introduced through the medium of Arabian commentators.

'The new Aristotle ministered to the intellectual want of the time in supplying the material it needed to exercise those faculties which had been so assiduously trained by Aristotle's own dialectic. But Aristotle was a pagan, and many points in his teaching ran counter to Christian doctrine. To give him that place in the schools which many now wished would be a standing menace to the authority of the Church. From the first appearance of the new writings, therefore, Rome steadily set its face against the "Grecian Doctor," and, in a succession of anathemas, forbade certain parts of his writings to be used in the universities. In the relation of thinkers to Aristotle we have thus the distinction between the earlier and the later scholasticism. Of the first period the great names are Roscellinus, Anselm, William of Champeaux, Abelard, and Peter Lombard; of the second, Albertus Magnus, Alexander of Hales, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, and Jean Gerson.' ('Chambers's Encyclopædia,' s.v. 'Scholasticism.')

These were all intellectual giants, and to us moderns it seems a pity that their strength and subtlety were so much wasted on the discussion of futilities. 'What could be more trifling than disquisitions about the nature of angels, their modes of operation, their means of conversing, or (for these were distinguished) the morning and evening state of their understandings? Into such follies the schoolmen appear to have launched, partly because there was less danger of running against an heresy, in a matter where the Church had defined so little; partly from their presumption, which disdained all inquiries into the human mind, as merely a part of physics; and in no small degree through a spirit of mystical fanaticism, derived from the Oriental philosophy and the later Platonists, which blended itself with the cold-blooded technicalities of the Aristotelian school.' (Hallam, 'Middle Ages,' chap. ix.)

'The tomes of Scholastic Divinity may be compared with the pyramids of Egypt, which stand in that rude majesty which is commanding from the display of immense human power, yet oppressive from the sense of the waste of that power for no discoverable use. Whoever penetrates within finds himself bewildered and lost in a labyrinth of small, dark, intricate passages and chambers, devoid of grandeur, devoid of solemnity; he may wander without end and find nothing. (Milman, 'Latin Christianity,' IX. 118.)

When students began to see that centuries of industry and ingenuity had failed to solve any of the problems of philosophy, when the spirit of unrest began to discuss the bases of the Church's authority, when learning began to revive and offer new intellectual interests, scholasticism died, but men did not throw aside the Aristotelian logic which had been its chief instrument till Bacon provided them with a tool far more serviceable.

P. 7, l. 28. **The same university.**—Cambridge. This was the university of Macaulay himself, and next to his home his old college (Trinity) was always to him the dearest spot on earth. He is not sorry, therefore, to belaud Cambridge even at the expense of Oxford.

P. 7, l. 33. **Those celebrated Protestant Bishops.**—The Bishops burnt at Oxford were Nicholas Ridley of London, Hugh Latimer of Worcester, and Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury. They were all educated at Cambridge, as was also Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, who was burnt at Carmarthen. John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, having suffered in his own city, Macaulay ignores the fact that he was educated at Oxford, and he ignores the further fact that there were plenty of Cambridge men who concurred in the Protestant persecution—half a dozen Cambridge doctors, for instance, having taken part in the public disputation with Latimer and Ridley.

P. 8, l. 5. **The Conservatives.**—The Roman Catholics.

P. 8, l. 33. **The unhappy attempt** of the Duke of Northumberland to place his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne.

P. 8, l. 35. **Wyatt.**—Sir Thomas Wyatt (1521 ?–1554), who headed an insurrection to prevent the marriage of Queen Mary with Philip of Spain.

P. 9, l. 25. **Philip II.** of Spain, whom they prevented from being made King of England in the time of Mary, and from conquering it in the time of Elizabeth.

P. 9, l. 26. **Coligni.**—Gaspard de Coligny (1517–1572) was made Admiral of France in 1552, though he never commanded at sea. In 1557 he held St. Quentin for seventeen days against the Spaniards, and thus saved his country. During his imprisonment after the capture of the town he became a Huguenot, and for the rest of his life he was, next to Henry of Navarre, the chief of the Protestant party. During the Massacre of St. Bartholomew he was murdered in his bed.

‘And as we looked on them we thought of Seine’s empurpled flood,
And good Coligni’s hoary hair all dabbled with his blood.’

Macaulay, ‘Ivry.’

P. 9, l. 28. **The artful politicians of Italy.**—The heads of the Roman Church, who persistently attempted to bring about the dethronement of Elizabeth in favour of Mary, Queen of Scots, and after the death of Mary supported the attempt of Philip of Spain to subdue the country.

P. 10, l. 20. **The first translators of the Bible.**—William Tyndale (? -1536), Miles Coverdale (1488-1568), John Rogers (1500 ?-1555), Richard Taverner (1505 ?-1575), William Whittingham (1524 ?-1579), were all concerned in versions of the whole or of part of the Bible which preceded the Authorised Version. Tyndale, Coverdale, and Whittingham, by the way, were Oxford men.

P. 10, l. 21. **The authors of the Book of Common Prayer.**—‘The Book of Common Prayer and Demonstration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church after the use of the Church of England,’ was laid before Parliament early in 1549, and an Act of Uniformity was then passed ordering that on and after Whitsunday of that year it alone was to be used. This first Prayer Book does not differ materially from that in use at the present day. Who were its authors (or rather translators, for a great part of its contents was taken from the Latin service books used before the Reformation) is not certainly known.

P. 10, l. 28. **Convocation.**—An assembly of the clergy. In mediæval times Convocation had much greater power than now. The Church of England has two Convocations, one for the province of Canterbury and the other for that of York.

P. 11, l. 1. **Burleigh.**—William Cecil (1520-1598), ‘the great Lord Burghley,’ was Secretary of State from the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 to 1572, and Lord High Treasurer from 1572 till his death.

P. 11, l. 2. **More than twenty years.**—From the accession of Elizabeth till his own death in 1579.

P. 11, l. 3. **Sir Walter Mildmay.**—(1520 ?-1589). Founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1566 till his death.

P. 11, l. 4. **Sir Thomas Smith** (1513-1577) took a leading part in reforming the pronunciation of Greek at Cambridge. He was appointed Provost of Eton, and held various offices in the Church. Macaulay appears to be in error in stating that Smith was Secretary of State for eighteen years. He was made Secretary of State to Edward VI. in 1548, but went into retirement on the accession of Mary in 1553. On the accession of Elizabeth he was sent on various diplomatic missions, and he was not appointed Secretary of State till 1572.

P. 11, l. 5. **Sir Francis Walsingham** (1530 ?-1590) was Secretary of State from 1573 till his death.

P. 11, ll. 8-10. **Wolsey . . . Raleigh.**—Wolsey died in disgrace; Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex; Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, was saved only by the previous death of Henry VIII.; Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset; John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, were all executed. So also were Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and Sir Walter Raleigh.

P. 11, l. 14. **Gorhambury.**—Two miles W.N.W. of St. Albans. Sir Nicholas Bacon bought the land in 1550, and on it built a mansion,

begun in 1563 and finished in 1568. Over the entrance some Latin verses and the motto quoted by Macaulay were inscribed. Queen Elizabeth often visited the house. On one of her visits she said to the Lord Keeper, 'My Lord, what a little house you have gotten!' He replied, 'Madam, my house is well, but it is you who have made me too great for my house.' Some vestiges of it remain near the more modern house of the Earl of Verulam.

P. 11, l. 14. **Mediocria firma.**—A middle station is the safest.

P. 11, l. 35. **Camden.**—William Camden (1551-1623), first usher, then head master of Westminster School, and afterwards Clarenceux King-at-Arms, is remembered by the very high terms in which his old pupils (e.g. Ben Jonson) speak of him, and still more by his own antiquarian and historical writings. His most famous work is 'Britannia, sive florentissimorum Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et Insularum adjacentium ex intima antiquitate chorographica Descriptio.' This has been frequently translated, and is generally cited as 'Camden's Britain.'

P. 11, l. 35. **Sacris . . . columen.**—The passage quoted by Macaulay appears thus in the translation made by Edmund Gibson (afterwards Bishop of London): '[Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal of England, who, for his singular prudence and solid judgment was, whilst he lived, deservedly accounted] one of the two supporters of this kingdom.' (Ed. 1695, p. 369.)

P. 11, l. 36. **Buchanan.**—George Buchanan (1506-1582); scholar, poet and historian; tutor of James VI. of Scotland. His 'Rerum Scotticarum Historia' (long the chief source of information to foreigners respecting Scotland) occupies a large folio volume in Ruddiman's 1715 edition, and his Latin poems a second volume.

P. 11, ll. 37-38. **Diu . . . columen.**—Long the second buttress of the British kingdom. These words occur in an *Epitaphium Nicolai Baconis Procancellarii Angliæ* beginning

'Hic Nicolaum me Baconem conditum
Existima illum tamdiu Britannici
Regni secundum columen, exitium malis,
Bonis asyllum.'

'Opera,' II. 106.

P. 12, l. 2. **Sir Anthony Cooke.**—For the family connections of Bacon see table, p. 241.

P. 12, l. 8. **Lady Killigrew** (1530? 1583) is said to have been proficient in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Some Latin verses of hers are preserved in the notes to Sir John Harington's translation of 'Orlando Furioso,' and in Stow's 'Survey of London.'

P. 12, l. 9. **Hexameters and pentameters.**—In Greek and Latin poetry verses of six and of five feet.

P. 12, l. 10. **Musae Etonenses.**—A publication containing Greek and Latin ‘poems’ by the scholars of Eton.

P. 12, l. 10. **Mildred.**—She was twenty years old when she married Lord Burleigh (on December 21, 1545).

P. 12, l. 11. **Roger Ascham** (1515–1568).—Tutor to Queen Elizabeth and Latin Secretary to Queen Mary; author of ‘Toxophilus’ (a work on Archery), and of the ‘Scholemaster,’ a work which mingles with the explanation of a method of teaching Latin many interesting remarks on men and things.

Writing to the educational reformer Sturm, on December 14, 1550, Ascham says: ‘I must not omit two English ladies in particular . . . one of them is the Lady Jane Grey . . . She is fifteen years old. I was very intimate with her at Court, and she wrote me very learned letters. This last summer when I visited my friends in Yorkshire . . . I turned out of my road to Leicester, where Lady Jane Grey was living with her father. I was immediately admitted to her chamber and found the noble damsel—O ye gods!—reading Plato’s “Phaedo” in Greek, and so thoroughly understanding it that she caused me the greatest astonishment . . . The other lady is Mildred Cecil, who understands and talks Greek as well as English, and I am doubtful whether she is the more to be envied for her surpassing knowledge, or for having the noble Anthony Cooke for her father and teacher . . . or, again, for having married William Cecil, a young man, it is true, but possessed of such prudence beyond his years, such learning and such moderation, &c.’ (‘The Whole Works of Roger Ascham’ [1865], vol. I. pt. i. 70.)

P. 12, l. 13. **Anne.**—**Ann Cooke** (1528–1610) is said to have aided her father in teaching Edward VI. She was a fervent Puritan.

P. 12, l. 16. **Bishop Jewel.**—John Jewel (1522–1571). Bishop of Salisbury. Like most of the theologians of the time he was engaged in controversy. The work which Lady Bacon translated was his ‘*Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana*.’

P. 12, l. 17. **Archbishop Parker.**—Matthew Parker (1504–1575) was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury on the accession of Elizabeth.

P. 12, l. 20. **Ochino.**—Bernardino Ochino (1487–1564) was an Italian reformer. In 1529, when vicar-general of the Capuchin order, he delivered some sermons at Venice in which the Inquisition discovered an evangelical tendency. After that he was a wanderer on the face of the earth. At one time he found refuge in England, but on the accession of Mary he fled to Switzerland. He remained at Zurich for ten years, but the publication of a work in which the Calvinists detected objectionable tenets caused him once more to resume wanderings which ended only at his death. The ‘*Fourteene Sermons of Bernardine Ochyne*’ are said on the title-page to be ‘translated in to oure natyue tounge by A. C.’

P. 12, ll. 22–23. **Wittenberg . . . Rome.**—The sects identified with these four towns are the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Socinians, and the Roman Catholics.

P. 12, l. 23. **The Socinian Sect** is now represented by the Unitarians. It derived its name from two Italians, Laelius Socinus and his nephew, Faustus Socinus.

P. 12, l. 25. **Lady Bacon**.—Macaulay here begins another long and unnecessary digression.

P. 12, l. 34. **Aylmer**.—John Aylmer (1521–1594) was the tutor of Lady Jane Grey. In 1577 he was made Bishop of London, and the rest of his life was spent in bitter broils brought about by his hot temper and arbitrary disposition. Lady Jane Grey, however, says: ‘One of the greatest benefits that God ever gave me is that He sent me such sharp and severe parents and so gentle a schoolmaster.’

P. 12, ll. 35, 36. **Isocrates and Lysias**.—The fourth and the third of the ‘Ten Attic Orators.’ Both flourished in the fifth century B.C. Ascham says that Queen Elizabeth used to translate Demosthenes and Isocrates daily.

P. 12, l. 36. **Horns were sounding**.—‘Before I went into Germanie, I came to Brodegate in Le[i]cestershire, to take my leaue of that noble Ladie Iane Grey, to whom I was exceding moch beholdinge. Hir parentes, the Duke and Duches, with all the household, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were huntinge in the Parke: I founde her, in her Chamber, readinge “Phaedon Platonis” in Greeke, and that with as moch delite as som ientlemen wold read a merie tale in Bocace. After salutation, and dewtie done, with som other taulke, I asked hir, whie she wold leefte soch pastime in the Parke? Smiling she answered me: I wisse, all their sporte in the Parke is but a shadoe to that pleasure that I find in Plato: Alas good folke, they neuer felt what trewe pleasure ment. And howe came you Madame, quoth I, to this deepe knowledge of pleasure, and what did chieflie allure you vnto it; seinge, not many women, but verie fewe men haue attained thereunto? I will tell you, quoth she, and tell you a troth, which perchance ye will meruell at. One of the greatest benefites, that euer God gaue me, is, that he sent me so sharpe and seuer Parentes, and so ientle a scholemaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speake, kepe silence, sit, stand, or go, eate, drinke, be merie, or sad, be sowyng, plaiyng, dauncing, or doing anie thing els, I must do it, as it were, in soch weight, mesure, and number, euen so perfittlie, as God made the world, or else I am so sharplie taunted, so cruellie threatened, yea presentlie some tymes, with pinches, nippes, and bobbes, and other waies, which I will not name, for the honor I bear them, so without measure misordered, that I thinke my selfe in hell, till tyme cum, that I must go to M. Elmer [Aylmer], who teacheth me so ientlie, so pleasantlie, with soch faire allurementes to learning, that I thinke all the tyme nothing, whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him I fall on weeping, because, what soeuer I do els, but learning, is ful of grief, trouble, feare, and whole misliking unto me: And thus my booke hath bene so moch my pleasure, and bringeth dayly to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deede, be but trifles and troubles vnto me. I remember this talke

gladly, both bicause it is so worthy of memorie, and bicause also, it was the last talke that euer I had, and the last tyme, that euer I saw that noble and worthie Ladie.' ('The Scholemaster' [Arber's edition], p. 46.)

P. 13, l. 1. **Immortal page.**—Plato's 'Phaedo' which Lady Jane Grey was reading. It tells how 'the first great intellectual martyr [Socrates, condemned to die for his opinions] took the cup [of hemlock] from his weeping gaoler.'

P. 13, l. 19. **Chaucer.**—Geoffrey Chaucer (1344 ?–1400) wrote the 'Canterbury Tales'; **John Gower** (1325 ?–1408), the 'Confessio Amantis' (notwithstanding its title an English poem); **Froissart** (1337 ?–1410), 'Chronicles'; **Philip de Comines** (1445 ?–1509), 'Mémoires'; and **Rabelais** (1483–1553), 'Gargantua and Pantagruel.'

P. 13, l. 36. **Canon law.**—A Canon (*κανών, canōn*, a rod, rule) is an ordinance of the Church. The Canon Law consisted partly of rules taken out of the Scriptures, partly of the writings of the Fathers and the ordinances of the General Councils, and partly of the decrees of the Popes. In ecclesiastical causes they were as binding as Acts of Parliament in civil causes.

P. 14, l. 3. **Buchanan's complimentary verses.**—Among these it is interesting to note the series 'Ad Elizabetham Angliæ Reginam,' 'Ad Mildredam Gulielmi Cæcilii uxorem, matronam virtute et eruditione præstantem,' and 'Ad Antonium Cucum . . . et filias doctissimas.' ('Opera,' II. 93 et seqq.)

P. 14, l. 4. **Erasmus's dialogues.**—Erasmus's place in the history of European thought and religion is too large for a note. The work to which Macaulay refers, his Colloquies, gives most amusing pictures of the life of four centuries ago.

P. 14, l. 4. **Hutten's Epistles.**—The 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Viro-rum,' written (wholly or in part) by Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), a German poet and controversialist, friend of Erasmus and Luther.

P. 14, ll. 14, 15. **Tragedy . . . comedy.**—Macaulay names two Greek tragedies, the 'Œdipus' of Sophocles and the 'Medea' of Euripides, and alludes to two Latin comedies, the 'Miles Gloriosus' of Plautus and the 'Eunuchus' of Terence.

P. 14, ll. 19, 20. **Pyrgopolynices . . . Thraso . . . Bobadil . . . Bessus . . . Pistol . . . Parolles.**—These are all comedy characters of the same type—the boastful coward.

Pyrgopolynices (Tower- and Town-Taker) occurs in the 'Miles Gloriosus.' He has, by his own account, served on the far-famed Gorgonidonian plains, where the great Bumbomachides, Clytomestoridy-sarchides' son, commanded.

From the name of Thraso, in the 'Eunuch,' we have the adjective 'thrasonical.' 'There never was anything so sudden but the fight of two rans and Cæsar's thrasonical brag of "I came, saw, and overcame."' ('As You Like It,' V. ii.)

Bobadil is a character in Ben Jonson's 'Every Man in His Humour.'

He says that having nineteen other gentlemen like himself Queen Elizabeth could do without an army. He would teach them the use of the sword 'till they could all play near or altogether as well as' himself. Then, if the enemy were, say, forty thousand strong these twenty would challenge twenty of the enemy and kill them, challenge twenty more and kill them, and so on, two hundred a day, and 'two hundred days kills them all up by computation.' (IV. v.)

Bessus occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher's 'A King and No King.' When he receives a challenge he says, 'I do accept it, but he must wait an answer these thirteen weeks. . . . I am already engaged to two hundred and twelve, all which must have their stains wiped off . . . before him.' (III. ii.)

Pistol is in Shakespeare's 'Henry IV.,' Part II.; and 'Henry V.' and 'Merry Wives of Windsor.' A boy in 'Henry V.' says of him: 'I did never know so full a voice come from so empty a heart. . . . Bardolph and Nym had ten times more valour than this roaring devil.' (IV. iii.) It is Pistol whom the choleric Welshman Fluellen compels to eat the léek. (V. i.)

Parolles is a character in Shakspeare's 'All's Well that Ends Well.' Helena says of him :

'I know him a notorious liar,
Think him a great way fool, solely a coward.' (I. i.)

P. 14, l. 22. **Pascal.**—Blaise Pascal (1623-1662); a celebrated French writer. Irony is one of the chief characteristics of his 'Lettres Provinciales' written against the Jesuits.

P. 14, l. 22. **Nephelococcygia** (Cloud-Cuckoo-Town), an imaginary city in Aristophanes' burlesque, 'The Birds.'

P. 14, l. 23. **Lilliput.**—An imaginary country in Swift's 'Gulliver's Travels.'

P. 16, l. 4. **York House.**—After the disgrace of Wolsey, when his palace of Whitehall fell to the Crown, York House became the town mansion of the Archbishops of York. After it ceased to be that, Nicholas Bacon lived in it, and his more famous son. After the Lord Chancellor was degraded the house became the property of the Duke of Buckingham, who built the water-gate, still standing. There is no other vestige of the house, but George Court, Villiers Street, Duke Street, and Buckingham Street still recall its site. There was formerly an Of Alley also.

P. 16, l. 9. **His premature readiness.**—Rawley is the authority for this. He says: 'His first and childish years were not without some mark of eminency, at which time he was endued with that pregnancy and towardness of wit, as they were presages of that deep and universal apprehension, which was manifest in him afterward: and caused him to be taken notice of by several persons of worth and place; and especially by the Queen: who (as I have been informed) delighted much then to confer with him, and to prove him with questions; unto whom he delivered himself with that gravity and maturity, above his years, that

her Majesty would often term him "The young Lord Keeper." Being asked by the Queen how old he was he answered with much discretion, being then but a boy, that he was two years younger than her Majesty's happy reign.' (Spedding, 'Works,' I. 3.)

P. 16, l. 13. **St. James's Fields.**—In 1537 Henry VIII. enclosed St. James's Park as a pleasure-ground for his new palace of St. James. The whole district thence to Marylebone was till the time of Charles II. without a dwelling, except the solitary 'Pickadilly,' mentioned by Clarendon as 'a fair house for entertainment and gaming.' That district was known as 'St. James's Fields.'

P. 16, l. 14. **A singular echo.** Bacon himself says: 'There is in St. James's Fields a conduit of brick unto which joineth a low vault and at the end of that a round house of stone: and in the brick conduit there is a window; and in the round house a slit or rift of some little breadth: if you cry out in the rift it will make a fearful roaring at the window.' ('Sylva Sylvarum,' II. 140.)

P. 16, l. 16. **Legerdemain.**—See his 'Sylva Sylvarum,' X. 946.

P. 16, l. 17. **Professor Dugald Stewart** (1753–1828), a famous Scotch philosopher; professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh; author of 'Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind,' 'Outlines of Moral Philosophy,' 'Lectures of Political Economy,' &c.

Stewart, arguing that 'those actions which are originally voluntary always continue so, although in the case of operations which are become habitual in consequence of long practice we may not be able to recollect every different volition,' says: 'The dexterity of jugglers (which, by the way, merits a greater degree of attention from philosophers than it has yet attracted) affords many curious illustrations of the same doctrine.' ('Elements,' I. 133.)

P. 16, l. 22. **In the thirteenth year.**—From the foundation of the universities to the close of the sixteenth century there was nothing remarkable in the admission of a boy of this age. Dean Church suggests that the period of childhood was shorter because life was shorter. We must, however, remember that the university course then terminated not when a student had graduated but when he became M.A., and that a boy therefore who entered at twelve could not complete the course till he was nineteen or twenty.

The youth of the students is shown by the rules. One forbade the use of peashooters; another, issued by Whitgift, the Master of Trinity in Bacon's time, decreed that 'if any scholar shall go into any river, pool, or other water . . . to swim or wash he shall, if under the degree of Bachelor of Arts, for the first offence be sharply and severely whipped publicly in the common hall of the College.'

The minimum age at Trinity was fourteen, but the family influence of Bacon would render relaxation easy.

P. 16, l. 28. **Whitgift.**—John Whitgift (1530?–1604). Master of Trinity College, 1567–77; Vice-Chancellor of the University, 1570 and

1573; appointed Bishop of Worcester, 1577; translated to Canterbury, 1583.

P. 16, ll. 32, 33. **Church Government . . . Reprobation.**—Calvin considered every Church as a separate and independent body, invested with the power of legislation for itself. He proposed that it should be governed by presbyters and synods composed of clergy and laity, without bishops.

One of the chief doctrines of Calvin was Election, with its necessary complement Reprobation. He held (*a*) that before the foundation of the world God had chosen a certain number to everlasting glory according to His immutable purpose and of His free grace and love, without the least foresight of faith, good works, or any condition performed by the creature; and (*b*) that He was pleased to pass by the rest of mankind, leaving them to dishonour and wrath for their sins to the praise of His vindictive justice.

The reformers whose opinions prevailed in the days of Edward VI. had adopted the theological views of Calvin, and the Puritans who were becoming prominent under Elizabeth wanted to enforce his views of Church Government. This was contrary to the policy of the Queen, and Whitgift was appointed Master of Trinity in order to counteract these views. He urged on Cecil that the statutes of the University should be revised. The new statutes which were made in 1570 remained the rule of the University for three hundred years.

P. 17, ll. 5-9. **Trinity College . . . New College.**—King's College, Cambridge, was founded by Henry VI. solely for scholars coming from Eton.

New College, Oxford, was founded by William of Wykeham, who had already founded the famous school in his cathedral city of Winchester, and was intended solely for the benefit of scholars who had passed through Winchester.

Macaulay says that Whitgift saved Trinity from becoming an appanage of Westminster as these two Colleges were of two other schools, but this is an erroneous statement of the effect (though not of the spirit) of Whitgift's action. He did secure a modification of the Westminster monopoly, but that proved to be only temporary, and was not the cause of the distinguished part which Trinity College has played in our higher education. (See Mullinger's 'University of Cambridge,' 272 et seqq.)

P. 17, ll. 10-22. **It has often been said . . . Aristotle himself.**—Rawley says: 'Whilst he was commorant [residing] in the university, about sixteen years of age (as his lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself), he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle, not for the worthlesnesse of the authour, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes; but for the unfruitfulnesse of the way, being a philosophy (as his lordship used to say), onely strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man; in which mind he continued to his dying day.' (Spedding, 'Works,' I. 4.)

P. 17, l. 24. **Sir Amias Paulet** (1536 ?–1588).—Ambassador to France 1576–79; keeper of Mary Queen of Scots from 1585 to her execution.

P. 17, l. 27. **Deplorable state**.—Bacon went to France in 1576. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew had taken place only four years before. The struggle in which that horrible crime was an incident continued till 1589. By that time the weak and incredibly vicious king, Henry III., the Duke of Guise, and other leaders of the League had been assassinated, Catherine de Médicis was dead, and the party led by Henry of Navarre (Henry IV.) was triumphant.

P. 17, l. 33. **Made a tour**.—In the wake of the Court from Paris through Blois and Tours to Poitiers. He spent three months in the last-named town in the autumn of 1577.

P. 18, l. 4. **One cipher**.—Bacon says, ‘Let us here insert a cipher of our own that we devised in Paris in our youth.’ In this every letter of the ordinary alphabet was represented in the cipher alphabet by five letters, *a*’s and *b*’s in various combinations, thus :

A = *aaaaa*.

B = *aaaab*.

C = *aaaba*.

In the cipher the word *cab* would therefore be written *aaabaaaaaaaab*.

P. 18, l. 6. **February 1580**.—Macaulay is in error here. Montagu, the authority whom he generally follows, says correctly that Sir Nicholas Bacon died on February 20, 1579.

P. 18, l. 9. **His prospects**.—Sir Nicholas, having provided for the rest of his sons, had laid by a considerable sum of money with which he meant to buy an estate for Francis. His sudden death prevented the purchase and left Francis with only a fifth part of the fortune intended for him. He was therefore compelled to study to live instead of living to study.

P. 18, l. 11. **Applied to the Government**.—That is, to his uncle Burghley. His letter is dated September 16, 1580.

P. 19, l. 17. **Younger by a few months**.—It is not certainly known when Robert Cecil was born, but it was most probably in 1563. Francis would thus be not a few months but two years older than his cousin.

P. 20, l. 6. **Many years later**.—The letter is dated August 12, 1616.

P. 20, l. 27. **On one occasion**.—The Earl of Essex in a letter to Bacon, written about the middle of May 1594, says: ‘I went yesterday to the Queen. . . . I had long speech with her of you. . . . She did acknowledge you had a great wit, and an excellent gift of speech, and much other good learning. But in law she rather thought you could make show to the uttermost of your knowledge than that you were deep.’ (Spedding, ‘Letters,’ I. 297.)

This can hardly express the real opinion of the Queen, or she would not have made Bacon one of her Counsel Extraordinary before he was thirty. The fact is, she wanted a plausible excuse for appointing an inferior man Attorney-General.

P. 20, l. 32. **Coke**.—Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634) was made Solicitor-General in 1592, and in 1594, in spite of the efforts to secure the position for Bacon, Attorney-General. In 1598 Bacon was suitor for the hand of Sir William Hatton's widow, but Coke married her in haste, afterwards repenting at leisure. He was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1606, and in 1613, on Bacon's advice, but much against his own wish, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. In 1616, partly through Bacon's influence again, he was dismissed from office. He then became a member of Parliament.

Coke was somewhat narrow-minded, and in the persecution of Sir Walter Raleigh behaved with a rancorous ferocity which would have disgraced a drunken boor, but he rendered good service to his country in protecting the Law Courts against ecclesiastical presumption and royal prerogative. He was a great writer on legal subjects. His best known work is 'The Institution of the Laws of England,' the first part of which, known as 'Coke upon Littleton,' is still often cited.

P. 20, l. 36. **Sergeant**.—A barrister of the highest rank. The number was limited to fifteen. Down to 1846 they enjoyed a monopoly of pleading in the Court of Common Pleas, and down to 1874 common law judges were admitted to the rank of serjeant-at-law before sitting as judges. The serjeants wore scarlet robes and in former times a coil or hood. The title was abolished in 1880. In this sense the word is commonly spelt *serjeant*.

P. 20, l. 37. '**Shook his head.**'

'The Temple late two brother serjeants saw,
Who deemed each other oracles of law;
With equal talents these congenial souls
One lulled the Exchequer and one stunned the Rolls;
Each had a gravity would make you split,
And shook his head at Murray for a wit.'
Pope, 'Imitations of Horace,' bk. II. ep. ii. 126–131.

'Murray' was the famous Lord Chief Justice Mansfield (1705–1793).

P. 21, ll. 3, 4. **Bastard eigné and mulier puisne**.—If the same parents had two sons, one born out of and the other in wedlock, the elder would be called *bastard eigné*, and the younger *mulier puisné*. (Blackstone, 'Commentaries,' bk. II. ch. xv.)

P. 21, ll. 4, 5. **Free fishery. . . common of piscary**.—'The exclusive liberty of taking and killing fish in a public stream or river is called a *free fishery*.' (Id. II. xxvii.)

'*Common of piscary* is a liberty of fishing in another man's waters.' (Id. II. iii.)

P. 21, l. 12. **Within the bar.**—‘He made another application to Burghley the precise nature of which we are again left to guess, but which was to facilitate his “coming within bars,” that is, as I suppose (for the meaning of the phrase is doubtful) his admission to practise in the Courts. By the regulations then in force an *utter barrister* had to continue in “exercise of learning” for five years before he was permitted to plead at any of the Courts at Westminster. . . . Bacon having been admitted to the Utter Bar on June 27, 1582, had still more than two years to wait and . . . he would naturally wish to have his term of probation shortened. . . . I presume that between Burghley and the Queen means might have been found, and that he now submitted to Burghley some proposition . . . with that view.’ (Spedding, ‘Letters,’ I. 58.)

P. 21, l. 14. **Bacon’s answer.**—In the course of a letter to his uncle dated May 6, 1586, Bacon says: ‘I know well, and I most humbly beseech your Lordship to believe that arrogancy and overweening is so far from my nature as, if I think well of myself in anything, it is in this that I am free from that vice.’ (Spedding, ‘Letters,’ I. 59.)

P. 21, l. 25. **Bench.**—A bench is a senior member of one of the societies known as the Inns of Court. Formerly they were called *Ancients*. They were admitted within the bar and therefore also called *Inner barristers* as distinct from the *utter* (outer) *barristers*. They governed the Inns of Court. Bacon is believed to have become a bench in 1586. He dedicates his ‘Arguments . . . in certain great and difficult cases’ to the ‘Readers, Ancients, Utter Barristers, and Students of Gray’s Inn.’ (Spedding, ‘Works,’ VII. 523.)

P. 21, l. 26. **Reader.**—In the Inns of Court one who reads lectures on law. When one of the ‘Ancients’ who had already read was appointed to read in the Lent Vacation he was called a ‘Double Reader.’

Such of Bacon’s lectures as have survived are not on the philosophy of law but its technicalities. One who was as ignorant of these as Macaulay supposes Bacon would hardly have been chosen by his fellows to lecture to them.

P. 21, l. 26. **In 1590.**—Mr. Spedding (‘Letters,’ I. 107) doubts whether the appointment of Bacon as one of the Queen’s ‘Learned Counsel Extraordinary’ took place as early as 1590. That the appointment was made in that year is inferred from a phrase in Rawley’s ‘Life,’ but Mr. Spedding thinks that the inference is scarcely justified.

P. 21, l. 36. **At length.**—The grant of the office of Clerk of the Counsel in the Star Chamber was made on October 29, 1589. It was worth 1,600*l.* a year, but it was only the reversion, that is the right to succeed to the office when next vacated, which was granted to Bacon, and it did not fall in for twenty years.

P. 22, l. 5. **In 1593.**—Macaulay does not mention the fact that Bacon had already been member for Melcombe Regis in the Parliament of 1584, for Taunton in the Parliament of 1586, and for Liverpool in the Parliament of 1588.

P. 22, l. 23. **Ben Jonson**.—The passage cited occurs in Jonson's 'Timber, or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter as they have flowed out of his daily Readings or had their Reflux to his peculiar Notion of the Times.' ('Works,' ed. Gifford, p. 749.)

P. 22, l. 28. **Censorious**.—In Jonson's time *censorious* did not necessarily mean *fault-finding*. It also meant, as in the passage quoted by Macaulay, befitting a censor, grave, severe.

P. 23, l. 6. **Knight of the Shire**.—Member of Parliament for a county.

P. 23, l. 17. **Remains of Bacon's speech**.—See Spedding, 'Letters,' I. 223.

P. 23, l. 34. **The most abject apologies**.—Macaulay was incapable of making a statement which he knew to be false, but in the course of an argument he often, unconsciously, presented facts in such a way as to produce a false impression. The letter to the Lord Treasurer was not an abject apology (indeed for Bacon it was a bold justification), and the letter to the Lord Keeper, though not what we should consider manly, is not so unmanly as Macaulay represents it.

The letter to Burghley (written soon after March 7, 1593) says Bacon is sorry that a speech 'delivered in discharge of' his 'conscience and duty to God, her Majesty and' his 'country' was offensive. If it had been misreported he would be glad to disavow anything that he had not said; if it had been misunderstood he would be glad to expound it. He had not spoken to court popularity or to oppose the Government, but only to satisfy his conscience. And therefore he adds 'I most humbly pray your Lordship first to continue me in your own good opinion, and then to perform the part of an honest friend towards your poor servant and ally in drawing her Majesty to accept the sincerity and simplicity of my heart, and to bear with the rest and restore me to her Majesty's favour.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' I. 233.)

This letter, more a justification than an apology, was so little pleasing to Elizabeth that she forbade Bacon to come into her presence.

The letter to the Lord Keeper (Sir John Puckering), dated April 19, 1594, was as follows: 'I commend my fortune to your Lordship's kind and honourable furtherance. My affection inclineth me to be much your Lordship's; and my course and way, in all reason and policy for myself, leadeth me to the same dependence; hereunto if there shall be joined your Lordship's obligation in dealing strongly for me as you have begun, no man can be more yours. A timorous man is everybody's, and a covetous man is his own. But if your Lordship consider my nature, my course, my friends, my opinion with her Majesty (if this eclipse of her favour were past), I hope you will think I am no unlikely piece of wood to shape you a true servant of. My present thankfulness shall be as much as I have said. I humbly take my leave.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' I. 293.)

P. 24, l. 1. **Cicero**.—Publius Clodius, a young Roman of noble family and notorious for the most abandoned profligacy, was detected in female

garb at the rites of the Bona Dea, to which women were only admitted. His sacrilege shocked those who had winked at his debaucheries, and he was brought to trial. He asserted that he was elsewhere at the time of the supposed offence, but Cicero, who had formerly been his friend, disproved his assertion. Thereupon he planned with equal skill and malignity to bring about the ruin of the truthful witness. Cicero was banished from Rome, and extracts from the letters which he wrote during his banishment would only confirm Macaulay's words. The warmest admirers of the great orator admit that his conduct during exile was abject.

P. 24, l. 8. **A new favourite.**—Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex. Some of the chief dates in his life are :

- 1566. Born.
- 1586. Distinguished himself at the Battle of Zutphen.
- 1587. Became a favourite of the Queen.
- 1590. Married Frances, widow of Sir Philip Sydney.
- 1593. Made Privy Councillor.
- 1594. Tried to obtain office for Bacon.
- 1596. Expedition to Cadiz.
- 1597. The 'Island Voyage.'
- 1599. Lieutenant and Governor-General of Ireland. Arrived in London, September 28.
- 1600. Tried for leaving his Government.
- 1601. Attempt to secure the dismissal of Elizabeth's counsellors and rising in the City. (February 25) Executed.

P. 24, l. 12. **Leicester.**—Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1532?–1588), the favourite of Elizabeth in the earlier years of her reign.

P. 24, l. 24. **The history of the factions.**—This long paragraph, and the next, equally long, might be greatly condensed, or altogether omitted, without any detriment to the Essay.

P. 25, l. 28. **On some future occasion.**—Macaulay made an occasion in reviewing Ranke's 'History of the Popes.'

P. 25, l. 31. **Apocalypse.**—The word in Greek, ἀποκάλυψις, simply means a revelation. The passage to which Macaulay alludes is in the message to the Church of Ephesus. . . . 'I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works.' (Rev. II. 4, 5.)

P. 25, l. 35. **Confessors.** In the technical language of the Church a confessor is a person who faces death boldly rather than deny the faith, but who is not actually put to death. He is a martyr in mind, but not in body.

P. 26, l. 16. **Grievance.**—Monopolies.

P. 27, l. 4. **In 1594.**—The Attorney-General is the highest law-officer of the Crown, with the Solicitor-General next to him in rank. It is generally understood that when certain positions on the bench fall

vacant, the Attorney-General has the first offer of the vacancy. As early as March, 1593, it was understood that the then Attorney-General was to be promoted to the Mastership of the Rolls, and the intrigues and importunities for the place of Attorney went on for a year. Bacon was nominated by the public voice for the office, and his claims were supported with great, sometimes indiscreet, warmth by Essex. Burghley was disposed to press for his appointment to the Solicitorship. Bacon also was content to press for this after March, 1594, when his rival, Coke, was appointed to the higher office; but in November of the next year his hopes of obtaining the lower office were definitely closed. The real difficulty lay with the Queen, who had never forgiven Bacon for his speech on the subsidies.

P. 27, l. 10. **One day.**—January 30, 1594. The account given by Macaulay of this conversation agrees in substance, but not altogether in words, with that quoted by Spedding ('Letters,' I. 269). I can find nothing in the correspondence to justify Macaulay's assumption that Burghley and Cecil were inimical to Bacon's claims; on the contrary, there is ample evidence to prove that from the first they had been willing to promote his appointment to the Solicitorship.

P. 28, l. 28. **Digest me no digestions.**—In the Elizabethan literature we find frequent instances of the practice of a second speaker, when dissenting with a certain amount of scorn from something said by the first speaker, to turn one of his last words into a Verb and its Cognate Object; e.g.:

Bolingbroke. My gracious Uncle. . . .

York. Tut, tut!

Grace me no grace, nor uncle me no uncle.

Shakspeare, 'Richard II.,' II. iii. 85-7.

Juliet. Not proud you have, but thankful that you have. . . .

Capulet. Mistress, minion, you!

Thank me no thankings, nor proud me no pouds.

'Romeo and Juliet,' III. v. 146-53.

Marrall. If you fail to come you lose the cause.

Greedy. Cause me no causes. I'll prove't, for such a dinner

We may put off a commission.

Massinger, 'A New Way to Pay Old Debts,' I. iii.

P. 29, l. 14. **He presented Bacon.**—'To the Earl of Essex the decision was in every way a mortification. He felt his friend's disappointment as his own; his whole credit for influence at Court had been notoriously staked upon success in this suit; and such a friend in such an office would have been a material support to him; so that it was a real loss to him in all respects. And if he was not yet convinced that his method of dealing with the Queen was unwise, he must at least have felt keenly that it had been in this case unlucky, and that Bacon had always disapproved of it, and warned him what it would come to. So

deeply indebted as the Bacons were to him for his endeavours in this matter, they could not of course criticise the manner of them; but we know that in the management of his own affairs it was a point on which he and Bacon always "directly and contradictorily differed"; and when Lady Bacon said that "though the Earl showed great affection, yet he marred all with violent courses," there can be little doubt now that she made a true judgment. In the account between him and Bacon the obligation was not all on one side. Bacon owed him much for his friendship, trust, and eager endeavours to serve him. He owed Bacon much not only for affection and zeal, but for time and pains gratuitously spent in his affairs. These he had done his best to requite in the best way, namely, by advancing him in his profession; but having failed, he (not unnaturally) desired to make him some reparation. And this he accordingly did with characteristic ardour and generosity. Of the particulars of the transaction, and indeed of the transaction itself, our only information is derived from Bacon's own narrative, published nine years after. And as subsequent events give it a peculiar importance, I shall quote at length all that relates to it.

"After the Queen had denied me the Solicitor's place, for the which his Lordship had been a long and earnest suitor on my behalf, it pleased him to come to me from Richmond to Twick[e]n[h]am Park, and brake with me, and said, 'Master Bacon, the Queen hath denied me yon place for you, and hath placed another; I know you are the least part of your own matter, but you fare ill because you have chosen me for your mean and dependence; you have spent your time and thoughts in my matters: I die (these were his very words) if I do not somewhat towards your fortune: you shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you.' My answer, I remember, was, that for my fortune it was no great matter, but that his Lordship's offer made me to call to mind what was wont to be said when I was in France of the Duke of Guise, that he was the greatest usurer in France, because he had turned all his estate into obligations; meaning that he had left himself nothing, but only had bound numbers of persons to him. 'Now, my Lord,' said I, 'I would not have you imitate his course, nor turn your state thus by great gifts into obligations, for you will find many bad debtors.' He bade me take no care for that, and pressed it: whereupon I said, 'My Lord, I see I must be your homager and hold land of your gift: but do you know the manner of doing homage in law? Always it is with a saving of his faith to the king and his other lords: and therefore, my Lord' (said I) 'I can be no more yours that I was and it must be with the ancient savings: and if I grow to be a rich man, you will give me leave to give it back to some of your unrewarded followers.'"' (Spedding, 'Letters,' I. 370.)

P. 29, l. 15. **Near two thousand pounds.**—"Land which I sold for eighteen hundred pounds . . . and I think was worth more." ('Sir Francis Bacon, His Apologie in Certaine Imputations Concerning the late Earl of Essex.' Spedding, 'Letters,' III. 143.)

P. 29, l. 16. **Many years after.**—In the 'Apologie.'

P. 29, l. 21. **Essays.**—Twelve editions of the Essays are known to

have been published in Bacon's lifetime. Of these four (three published by John Jaggard and one by Elizabeth Jaggard) are considered spurious. Many alterations were made in the text by Bacon himself, and the number of essays was several times increased. The first edition, published in 1597, contained only ten; the fourth, published in 1612, contained forty; the twelfth, published in 1625, contained fifty-eight. (For an elaborate comparison of the various editions see 'Montagu,' note 3i, or Arber's 'Harmony.')

P. 29, l. 24. **In a few months.**—All that we certainly know is that the first edition was published in 1597 and the second in 1598.

P. 29, l. 24. **Translated into Latin, French, and Italian.**—The standard Latin translation was published by Rawley, Bacon's chaplain, in 1638. Of other translations made in Bacon's lifetime Montagu gives the titles of one French (1619) and two Italian (1618 and 1621).

P. 29, l. 29. **A goldsmith.**—Writing to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper, about September 25, 1598, Bacon says that he has been arrested at the suit of 'one Sympson, a goldsmith,' as he was coming from the Tower on the Queen's business. 'He would . . . have had me in prison . . . had not Sheriff More . . . gently recommended me to an handsome house in Coleman Street, where I am.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' II. 107.)

P. 29, l. 31. **Spunging-house.**—A house where persons arrested for debt were before being put into prison lodged to allow their friends an opportunity of settling the debt. It was usually the private dwelling of the bailiff, who spunged upon his involuntary and unfortunate guests.

P. 29, l. 31. **Coleman Street.** Near London Wall in the City of London.—It was here that the Five Members took refuge after the attempt of Charles I. to arrest them. It is the scene of Cowley's comedy, 'Cutter of Coleman Street.'

P. 29, l. 33. **His . . . expedition.**—He commanded the land forces; Lord Howard of Effingham, the fleet; and Sir Walter Raleigh, a squadron.

P. 29, l. 34. **At the very moment.**—Bacon himself, writing to Essex, says: 'Your Lordship's so honourable minding of my poor fortune the last year in the very entrance to that great action . . . as to write three letters to stir me up friends in your absence. . . .' (Spedding, 'Letters,' II. 55.)

P. 29, l. 37. **Most brilliant military exploit.**—In thirty-six hours the great fleet in the harbour was either destroyed by the English or, to prevent capture, destroyed by the Spaniards themselves; and the town was taken and burnt.

P. 30, l. 3. **Humane and generous disposition.**—It was the custom to commit the most horrible outrages in captured cities, and the Spaniards themselves had shown in the Netherlands the most religious adherence to the custom, but Essex gave orders that any soldier offering violence to a non-combatant should be shot. Lord Howard of Effing-

ham wrote: 'The courtesy and clemency that hath been shewn here will be spoken of throughout the world; no aged or cold blood touched, no woman injured, but all with great care embarked and sent to St. Mary's Port; and other women and children were likewise sent thither and suffered to carry away with them all their apparel and divers rich things which they had about them, which no man might search for under pain of death.'

P. 30, l. 11. **Hatton.**—She was the widow of Sir William Hatton (who died on March 12, 1597), a daughter of Sir Robert Cecil and therefore a granddaughter of Lord Burghley. All that is known of the affair is the letter which Macaulay quotes. It is not even known whether Bacon proposed. In 1597 rumour assigned the lady to a second, and on November 7, 1598, she married a third.

P. 31, l. 3. **His administration in Ireland.**—In 1594 began in Ulster one of the long series of Irish risings against English misgovernment. The leader was Hugh O'Neill, known as the Earl of Tyrone. In 1599 all Celtic Ireland joined in the rising, and the Earl of Essex was sent over to restore peace and obedience. He was anxious to go (or rather anxious that no one else should go) and the Cecil party, knowing that he was more likely to fail than to succeed, facilitated his appointment as Lord-Deputy.¹ But he failed egregiously, and, against the express command of the Queen, returned to justify his conduct and counteract his enemies at Court.

Essex reached London on September 28, 1599. Elizabeth received him kindly at first, but soon made clear that she was highly displeased with his conduct. On June 6, 1600, he was tried for 'the dishonourable and dangerous treaty' which he had made with the arch-rebel Tyrone, for 'the contemptuous leaving of his Government,' and for disobedience. Bacon appeared as counsel against him. Essex was sentenced to dismissal from all offices of State and to remain a prisoner in his own house. At that time nothing was known of the arrangements which he had made with Mountjoy and the King of Scotland for an armed demonstration to support James's claim to the English succession—a demonstration in which two or three thousand men brought by Essex to England and half the army left under Mountjoy in Ireland were to assist.

Essex grew desperate at the loss of the Queen's favour, and combined his friends in a plot for seizing Whitehall, securing an audience with Elizabeth, and demanding the dismissal of her present advisers. Some particulars of the plot leaked out, and Essex was summoned to appear before the Council. Then, grown still more desperate, he strove (on February 8, 1600) to raise the City, but found the citizens loyal. He

¹ Were now the General of our gracious Empress
(As in good time he may) from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
How many would the peaceful city quit,
To welcome him?

Shakspeare, 'Henry V.' Chorus to Act V. ~

himself was obliged to surrender. He was tried on a charge of attempting to compass the Queen's death, Bacon again appearing against him. He was executed on February 25.

P. 31, l. 23. **Let us be just to Bacon.**—There is probably nothing in the life of Bacon respecting which the court of posterity is still so far from arriving at a unanimous verdict as his conduct to Essex. Some, like Macaulay, would, without hesitation, find him guilty of the blackest ingratitude; a few, like Montagu, would find him not guilty; many would incline to the French formula, 'guilty with extenuating circumstances,' or to the Scotch formula 'not proven.'

Bacon appeared against Essex at both trials, the first before the Commission at York House, and the second after the failure of the rising in the City. In both Bacon had but one alternative to appearing for the Crown—resigning his position as Queen's Counsel—and thus not only aggravating his chronic money difficulties, but also destroying all hopes of success in his profession. There is abundant evidence that up to and after the first trial Bacon had done all he could to restore Essex to favour; indeed, he had been so zealous for his patron that he had roused Elizabeth's anger. He was commanded to draw up an account of what had been done, and he passed over the faults of Essex so lightly that the Queen said she 'perceived old love would not easily be forgotten.' With regard to the treason case, Bacon's contemporaries do not blame him for the way in which he had acquitted himself so much as for not refusing to have anything to do with it. 'Mr. Francis Bacon's behaviour towards the Earl at his trial was perhaps less exceptionable than his submitting to any share in it.' (Birch.)

P. 33, l. 24. **Pisistratus.**—Bacon said: 'The Earl made his colour the severing some great men and councillors from her Majesty's favour, and the fear he stood in of his pretended enemies lest they should murder him in his house. Therefore he saith he was compelled to fly into the City for succour and assistance; not much unlike Pisistratus, of whom it was so anciently written how he gashed and wounded himself and in that sort ran crying into Athens that his life was sought and like to have been taken away; thinking to have moved the people to have pitied him and taken his part, by such counterfeited harm and danger; whereas his aim and drift was to take the government of the city into his hands and alter the form thereof. With like pretences of dangers and assaults the Earl of Essex entered the City of London.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' II. 225.)

When Pisistratus had imposed on the people in the way described by Bacon he claimed a chosen band of fifty men to defend him from the malevolence of his enemies. With the aid of this band he seized the citadel of Athens, and made himself absolute. He died about 527 B.C.

P. 33, l. 33. **A shuffling answer.**—Essex said that he would 'call forth Mr. Bacon against Mr. Bacon,' and referred to two letters written by him. This is what Macaulay calls Bacon's 'shuffling answer': 'Those letters, if they were there, would not blush to be seen for anything contained in them, and that he had spent more time in vain in

studying how to make the Earl a good servant to the Queen and State than he had done in anything else.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' II. 227.)

P. 33, l. 36. **Henry, Duke of Guise.**—Essex had urged that if he had designs against any except his private enemies he would not have proceeded to the City with so few men. To this Bacon replied: 'It was not the company you carried with you, but the assistance which you hoped for in the City which you trusted unto. The Duke of Guise thrust himself into the streets of Paris on the day of the Barricados in his doublet and hose, attended only with eight gentlemen, and found that help in the City which (thanks be to God) you failed of here.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' II. 230.)

Henry, Duke of Guise (1550–1588) was the Chief of the League, the anti-Protestant party in France. In May 1588, despite the commands of the King (Henry III.), he entered Paris. Though only accompanied by seven persons '*tant maîtres que valets*,' he was virtually master of the government as he was for the time the darling of the populace. The King obtained the assistance of some troops and sent them into the city, but the League was on the alert, and, as if by magic, a series of barricades arose, the last within fifty yards of the Louvre itself. The King was reduced to a position of absolute impotence, and besought his rival to stop the bloodshed. The Duke went unarmed into the midst of the tumult, and order was restored at once. The Day of the Barricades was May 12, 1588. Henry nursed his wrath till December 23, when he had the Duke assassinated.

P. 34, l. 6. **The last Valois.**—Henry III.

P. 34, l. 7. **The House of Lorraine.**—Of which the Duke of Guise was the head.

P. 34, l. 21. **To murder the Earl's fame.**—If the 'Declaration' is a truthful statement it was Essex himself who murdered the Earl's fame, and if it was not a truthful statement Bacon should not be singled out for special reprobation, as the Queen and the whole Council were equally guilty, his draft having been 'perused, weighed, censured, altered and made almost a new writing' by the Councillors, and afterwards 'exactly perused by the Queen herself and some alterations again made by her appointment.' And Bacon could not consistently have refused the use of the most skilful pen then in the service of the Government. The refusal to write an account of the treason would have been the severest condemnation of Bacon's own act in helping to bring the traitor to his doom.

P. 36, l. 7. **For the sake of the public.**—This is Montagu's argument in his own words: 'He saw that if he did not plead against Essex all his hopes of advancement might, without any benefit to his friend, be destroyed, and that if he did plead against him he should be exposed to obloquy and misrepresentation. The consideration of his worldly prospects were [*sic*] to him and to the community of great importance.' (lxi.)

Macaulay having slain Montagu's argument by misrepresentation, wastes a good deal of energy in slaying it again.

P. 36, l. 17. **Bonner**.—Edmund Bonner (1500?–1569), Bishop of London, the ablest and most zealous director of the Protestant persecution under Queen Mary.

P. 36, l. 22. **Jeffreys**.—Judge Jeffreys (1648–1689), the brutal Lord Chief Justice of Charles II. and James II. In 1683 he conducted the trial of Algernon Sydney for treason, and in 1685 that of Elizabeth Gaunt for harbouring a Rye House conspirator. She was the last woman executed in England for a political offence.

P. 36, l. 26. **Thurtell**.—John Thurtell (1794–1824), a notorious figure in low sporting circles under the Regency, lost 300*l.* at cards to William Weare, a solicitor of Lyon's Inn, and afterwards murdered him. Macaulay must have had vivid recollections of the way in which the murder impressed the popular imagination. George Borrow, William Hazlitt, and Lord Lytton all speak of it, and Scott was very fond of quoting the lines :

‘ They cut his throat from ear to ear,
His brains they battered in;
His name was Mr. William Weare,
He dwelt in Lyon's Inn.’

One of the witnesses at the trial being asked whether he considered a certain person ‘respectable,’ answered that he ‘drove a gig,’ whence Carlyle's favourite noun *gigmanity*.

P. 36, l. 29. **Fauntleroy**.—Henry Fauntleroy (1785–1824) suffered death the same year as Thurtell. He was the most active partner in a large banking house, and under a forged power of attorney sold out great quantities of stock entrusted to the firm. The defect in the penal laws to which Macaulay alludes was the fact that a man could then be hanged (as Fauntleroy was) for forgery.

P. 36, l. 34. **St. Luke's**.—Lunatic asylum.

P. 37, l. 3. **Services which he rendered to mankind**.—Macaulay speaks as if the taking of ‘two hundred pounds and an hundred pieces’ from Lady Wharton and of ‘a rich cabinet . . . priced at eight hundred pounds . . . though nothing near half the value,’ from Sir John Kennedy, were a fair sample of the services which Bacon rendered as Lord Chancellor.

P. 37, l. 10. **Mr. Montagu maintains**.—His words are : ‘He was not likely to be moved by that ignorant censure which mixes the counsel with his client, instead of knowing that the advocate is indifferent on which side he pleads, whether for the most unfortunate or the most prosperous, for the most virtuous or the most abandoned member of the community; and that, if he were not indifferent—if he were to exercise any discretion as to the party for whom he pleads, the course of justice would be interrupted by prejudice to the suitor, and the exclusion of integrity from the profession. The suitor would be prejudiced in proportion to the respectability of the advocate who had shrunk from his defence, and the weight of character of the counsel would be evidence in

the cause. Integrity would be excluded from the profession, as the counsel would necessarily be associated with the cause of his client: with the slanderer, the adulterer, the murderer, or the traitor, whom it may be his duty to defend. (lxiii.)

P. 38, l. 4. **Sir Thomas Armstrong** (1624?–1684) was deeply implicated in the Rye House plot. When the conspiracy was discovered he fled to the Continent and was outlawed. The magistrates of Leyden were induced by a bribe to give him up. He was brought before Jeffreys and other judges. He claimed that as he had not been outlawed a year he had a right to be tried for the offence with which he was charged, but Sir Robert Sawyer, the Attorney-General, moved that the Court award execution on the outlawry. Armstrong pleaded: ‘I ask only the benefit of the law.’ ‘And by the grace of God you shall have it,’ said Jeffreys. ‘Mr. Sheriff, see that execution be done on Friday next. There is the benefit of the law for you.’

P. 38, l. 7. **Said Mr. Foley**.—‘The case was brought before the House of Commons. The orphan daughter of Armstrong came to the bar to demand vengeance; and a warm debate followed. Sawyer was fiercely attacked, and strenuously defended. The Tories declared that he appeared to them to have done only what, as counsel for the Crown, he was bound to do, and to have discharged his duty to God, to the King, and to the prisoner. If the award was legal, nobody was to blame; and, if the award was illegal, the blame lay, not with the Attorney-General, but with the Judges. There would be an end of all liberty of speech at the bar, if an advocate was to be punished for making a strictly regular application to a Court, and for arguing that certain words in a statute were to be understood in a certain sense. The Whigs called Sawyer murderer, bloodhound, hangman. If the liberty of speech claimed by advocates meant the liberty of haranguing men to death, it was high time that the nation should rise up and exterminate the whole race of lawyers. “Things will never be well done,” said one orator, “till some of that profession be made examples.” “No crime to demand execution,” exclaimed John Hampden. “We shall be told next that it was no crime in the Jews to cry out ‘Crucify Him.’” A wise and just man would probably have been of opinion that this was not a case for severity. Sawyer’s conduct might have been, to a certain extent, culpable; but, if an Act of Indemnity was to be passed at all, it was to be passed for the benefit of persons whose conduct had been culpable. The question was not whether he was guiltless, but whether his guilt was of so peculiarly black a dye that he ought, notwithstanding all his sacrifices and services, to be excluded by name from the mercy which was to be granted to many thousands of offenders. This question calm and impartial judges would probably have decided in his favour. It was, however, resolved that he should be excepted from the Indemnity, and expelled from the House.’ (Macaulay, ‘History,’ i. 635.)

P. 38, l. 20. **Sir William Williams** (1634–1700).—‘The unblushing forehead and voluble tongue of Sir William Williams were found on the same side, the side in the House of Commons for de-

claring that James II. was no longer King. Already he had been deeply concerned in the excesses both of the worst of oppositions and of the worst of governments. He had persecuted innocent Papists and innocent Protestants. He had been the patron of Oates and the tool of Petre. His name was associated with seditious violence which was remembered with regret and shame by all respectable Whigs, and with freaks of despotism abhorred by all respectable Tories. How men live under such infamy it is not easy to understand: but even such infamy was not enough for Williams. He was not ashamed to attack the fallen master to whom he had hired himself out for work which no honest man in the Inns of Court would undertake, and from whom he had, within six months, accepted a baronetcy as the reward of servility.' (Macaulay, 'History,' i. 635.)

P. 39, l. 21. **The ancient tyrants.**—Pisistratus.

P. 39, l. 25. **Rebel.**—The Duke of Guise.

P. 40, l. 8. **Oldmixons.**—John Oldmixon (1673-1742), William Kenrick (1725?-1779), and John Williams (1761-1818), who scribbled under the name of Antony Pasquin, are selected by Macaulay as examples of the literary hack, who, for money, would write on any side of a question. The student desiring further information about these gentry will find frequent references to Oldmixon in Pope, to Kenrick in Boswell's 'Johnson,' and to Williams in Gifford's 'Baviad.'

In the Essay Oldmixon and Kenrick have been substituted for the Concanen and Gildon of the *Review* (p. 29).

P. 40, l. 12. **Cobham.**—Henry Brooke, eighth Baron Cobham (? - 1619), was not only the political ally, but the brother-in-law of Robert Cecil, who married his sister. He was one of those whom Essex professed to believe engaged in a plot to murder him.

P. 40, l. 36. **The Mace.**—A club-shaped staff carried before certain officials. (See Note to p. 73, l. 6.) Macaulay means that Bacon longed for office and a title (of which the mace and the coronet would be the symbols).

P. 41, l. 27. **The Instauration Magna.**—The Great Instauration (the great renewal of learning) was the name which Bacon gave to his whole vast scheme of works. The 'De Augmentis' and the 'Novum Organum' (itself incomplete) are the only considerable portions of it written.

P. 41, l. 37. **Excited . . . disapprobation.**—Mr. Spedding asserts confidently that there is no evidence to prove Bacon's conduct excited disapprobation.

P. 42, l. 24. **Employed all his address.**—While the Queen was dying, and immediately after her death, Bacon applied to his cousin, Sir Robert Cecil, now the most important person in England, through Michael Hicks, who had been Burghley's secretary. He also applied to the Earl of Northumberland (who had been engaged for some time in a confidential correspondence with James), to the King himself, and to the persons about the Scotch Court whom he happened to know.

P. 42, l. 29. **Two men.**—Macaulay generally exaggerates the contradictions in a character in order to heighten the contrast. The late Dr. Gardiner, with a more judicious mind and a far greater knowledge, has shown that James was not an idiot, 'drivelling' or other. Many of his schemes were wise and far-sighted, and for their failure circumstances were as much to blame as the King.

P. 42, l. 36. **Synod of Dort.**—A long series of conferences which took place at Dort (Dordrecht) in 1618-19 to discuss and decide the points in dispute between the followers of Arminius and the followers of Calvin. James sent commissioners to the Synod. The doctrines of Calvin prevailed.

P. 44, l. 1. **Vossius and Casaubon.**—Gerard Jan Vossius (1577-1649) and Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), two of the greatest European scholars of the time of James.

P. 44, l. 7. **Pedant as well as a fool.**—Buchanan, reproached with making a pedant of James, answered that that was the best he could make of him. Sully, the minister to Henry IV. of France, described James as the wisest fool in Christendom.

P. 44, ll. 8-10. **Bacon . . . Queen.**—It would be more correct to say that Bacon was not unfavourably received at Court, and that his chance of promotion did not seem increased by the death of the Queen.

P. 44, l. 10. **Solicitous to be knighted.**—Writing on July 3, 1603 to his cousin Robert, the most important person in the Government during the earliest years of James, as he had been during the latest years of Elizabeth, Bacon says: 'For this divulged [vulgarised] and almost prostituted title of knighthood I could without charge, by your Honour's mean, be content to have it, both because of this late disgrace [he seems to have been a second time arrested for debt] and because I have three new knights in my mess in Gray's Inn commons, and because I have found out an alderman's daughter, an handsome maiden, to my liking.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' III. 80.)

Writing again on July 16, Bacon says: 'For my knighthood I wish the manner might be such as might grace me, since the matter will not; I mean, that I might not be merely gregarious in a troop.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' III. 81.)

Bacon obtained the knighthood, but there was nothing in the manner to grace him. He had to share the honour with 300 others, on July 23, two days before the King's coronation.

P. 44, l. 12. **Dubbed.**—Knighted. To dub is to confer the rank of knighthood by the ceremony of striking the shoulder with a sword. Etymology unknown.

P. 44, l. 22. **Soon after.**—It was not soon after; it was nearly three years after—on May 10, 1606; but it is justice to Macaulay to state that the date was not known when he wrote.

The 'handsome maiden' was Alice, daughter of Alderman Barnham. He had been dead for fifteen years, and his widow was married to Sir

John Packington. Dudley Carleton, writing on May 11, 1606, says: 'Sir Francis Bacon was married yesterday to his young wench in Maribone [Marylebone] Chapel. He was clad from top to toe in purple and hath made himself and his wife such store of fine raiment of cloth of silver and gold that it draws deep into her portion.' That portion, a quarter of her father's fortune (which she shared with her three sisters) seems to have been 220*l.* a year. As Bacon settled an additional 500*l.* a year on her, the suggestion that he made a mercenary marriage is unfounded.

P. 44, l. 33. **Lord Southampton.**—Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton (1573–1624). He accompanied his friend Essex to Cadiz in 1596 and to Ireland in 1599; and after Essex was first committed to custody Southampton entered into communication with him and was gradually drawn into the conspiracy for the overthrow of Essex's enemies at Court. On the failure of the attempted rising in the city he was arrested and brought to trial with his friend. Both were condemned to death, but the sentence on Southampton was commuted to imprisonment for life. Southampton had been James's ally, and the King's first act on his accession to the crown of England was to set Southampton free.

P. 44, l. 35. **Patron of Shakspeare.**—Southampton was a patron of most of the literary men of his time. To him Shakspeare, in 1593, dedicated 'Venus and Adonis,' and in 1594 'Lucrece.' The language of the second dedication justifies the inference that there was a warm friendship between the two men, and we have very fair authority for the statement that the patron had at one time given the poet 'a thousand pounds to enable him to go through with a purchase which he had heard he had a mind to.' It is strenuously maintained by many critics that Southampton was the unnamed friend addressed in the 'Sonnets.'

P. 45, l. 8. **By letter.**—The letter is given in full by Spedding ('Letters,' III. 75), and must have been written early in April, 1603, as Southampton was released on the 10th.

P. 45, l. 21. **A defence of his conduct.**—This is 'Sir Francis Bacon, His Apologie,' already quoted. It is dated 1604, but the month of publication is not known. It must, however, have been published about two years before—not, as Macaulay says, 'soon after' Bacon's marriage.

P. 45, l. 22. **Earl of Devon.**—Charles Blount, eighth Baron Mountjoy—or Montjoy—(1563–1606), was leader of the land forces in the 'Island Voyage' of Essex in 1597. He was implicated in his friend's conspiracy, but escaped punishment, and was made Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1601. He put down Tyrone's rebellion and restored something like order. In 1603 James created him Earl of Devonshire (not Devon, as Macaulay says).

Mr. Spedding (whose view of Bacon's conduct to the Earl of Essex differs materially from Macaulay's) says: 'If the popular disapprobation

excited at the time by Bacon's conduct towards the Earl of Essex was as great and as universal as it is usually assumed to have been by modern writers, it seems strange that proofs of the fact should not be more abundant. I believe, however, that the only contemporary witness who can be cited to prove the existence of any disapprobation at all is Bacon himself; and though his evidence proves conclusively that disapprobation had been expressed, the absence or silence of other witnesses proves almost as conclusively that it had not been expressed very generally or very loudly.' ('Letters,' III. 136.)

With regard to the date of the 'Apologie' Mr. Spedding says: 'Whether any particular occasion impelled him to speak at this time—any revival of the calumny (such as James's supposed partiality for Essex and his open favour towards the surviving members of the party would naturally encourage), or some expression which may possibly have fallen from the Earl of Southampton upon his offer of congratulation—or whether it was merely that he wished to take the earliest opportunity of clearing himself from a painful and undeserved imputation—I cannot say: for no record remains to show what was said of him, or when, or by whom, except what may be collected from the terms of his answer. But the time was in one respect very convenient. For Lord Montjoy, who was cognisant of the whole case—those parts of it that could not yet be made public as well as the rest—was now in England, and in high reputation, newly created Earl of Devonshire and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He had been deeply involved in some of Essex's most secret intrigues, and had only escaped the consequences through a bold connivance on the Queen's part, who wanted his service and felt that she could trust him, and made him understand that she meant to be ignorant of what had passed. No man could be less suspected of an inclination to judge Bacon's conduct too favourably. No man was so little likely to be deceived by a false story; nor was any man, on the other hand, so well qualified to understand the full meaning of the true story in those parts where the meaning could not yet be fully explained. To him, therefore, as to the best and fairest representative of the party by whom he was censured or suspected, Bacon now addressed a letter of explanation.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' III. 137.)

P. 45, l. 34. **Nemesis.**—A personification of the moral indignation felt at all derangements of the natural equilibrium of things, whether by extraordinary good fortune or by the arrogance usually attendant on extraordinary good fortune. As she punished wanton boasting she was considered the goddess of chastisement and vengeance. She was specially worshipped by victorious generals.

P. 45, l. 36. **Waller.**—Another long and needless digression. Edmund Waller (1606–1687) was born at Coleshill, but brought up at Beaconsfield, the future home of two greater politicians and writers, Edmund Burke and Benjamin Disraeli. His mother was an aunt of John Hampden, who therefore was cousin both to the poet and the Protector. He is said to have been returned to Parliament at the age of sixteen, and he took a fairly prominent part in the stirring events of the

Civil War. Though his family connections would lead him to side with the Roundheads, his personal predilections appear to have been with the Cavaliers; but as he was wanting in moral sense, we find him acting now with one party and now with another. In 1643, after forming one of the Parliamentary Commissioners to treat with the King, he hatched a plot ('Waller's Plot') to secure the City of London for Charles. The conspiracy was discovered, and the conspirators seized. Waller tried to save himself by informing against his accomplices, and his treachery, combined with the intercession of Cromwell, won for him a much lighter sentence than he could have expected. He was expelled from Parliament, banished the country, and fined ten thousand pounds. (As he had both inherited and married wealth, the fine was not exorbitant.) In 1651, through the influence of Cromwell again, he was granted a pardon.

In 1655 Waller published 'A Panegyric to my Lord Protector of the present Greatness and joint Interest of His Highness and this Nation'; on Cromwell's death he wrote laudatory verses beginning

'We must resign! Heaven his great soul does claim
In storms as loud as his immortal fame.'

He celebrated the Restoration by a poem 'To the King upon His Majesty's happy Return,' in which he speaks of

'Our sorrow and our crime
To have accepted life so long a time
Without you here.'

P. 46, l. 22. Hyperbole of Juliet.—

Nurse. Shame come to Romeo!

Juliet.

Blistered be thy tongue
For such a wish! He was not born to shame;
Upon his brow shame is ashamed to sit.

'Romeo and Juliet,' III. ii. 90-92.

P. 46, l. 27. Speaks of him.—In 'The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, . . . written by Himself.' (Oxford ed. 1759, I. 48.)

P. 47, l. 7. A few flowing lines.—Everybody knows that Waller addressed a number of amatory poems to a lady whom he called Sacharissa. There was a real Sacharissa (Dorothy Spencer, Countess of Sunderland), but it is doubtful whether he had any real love for her, and certain that she had no real love for him. The verses, being as artificial as the feeling which evoked them, are now read only as curiosities, but the last two of the twelve lines 'On a Girdle' are still quoted—

'Give me but what this riband bound,
Take all the rest the sun goes round.'

P. 47, l. 13. Manlius in sight of the Capitol.—Marcus Manlius, for his exertions in defending the Capitol against the Gauls, was sur-

named Capitolinus. His turbulence and ambition made him a demagogue. When brought to trial for sedition the appeal which he made to the great actions of his life was rendered so irresistible by his being able to point to the Capitol which he had saved, that the tribunes felt it would be impossible for any judges to pronounce sentence upon him while that fortress was in sight. They therefore adjourned his trial to another spot.

P. 47, l. 16. **In 1604.**—There is an implied error in Macaulay's statement. The appointment as King's Counsel was nothing new. Bacon was Queen's Counsel to the last day of Elizabeth's reign, but having had no written warrant his name was omitted from the list of those to be continued in office on the accession of James. The mistake was remedied on April 21, 1603, but it was not till August 18, 1604, that the office was confirmed to him by patent. I cannot find any evidence for the statement that the office carried a fee of 40*l.* a year; and the pension of 60*l.* was not for any service of Bacon's own, but in consideration of the good services of his dead brother Anthony, the intimate and ever faithful friend of Essex. (See Abbott, 'Francis Bacon,' 112.)

P. 47, l. 18. **In 1607.**—On June 25. He reckoned the office of Solicitor-General to be worth 1,000*l.* a year.

P. 47, l. 19. **In 1612.**—It was not in 1612, but in 1613 (not before August), that Bacon was promoted to be Attorney-General.

P. 47, l. 25. **Post Nati.**—The union of England and Scotland under one crown raised the question of the position in each country of persons born in the other. It was admitted that those born in one country before the Union (the *Ante Nati*) would require to be naturalised in the other. The judges as advisers of the House of Lords declared that the *Post Nati* were *ipso jure* naturalised, while the lower House resolved that they were not, and declined to naturalise them by statute until other measures, which would take a long time, had been passed. A case for the Courts was therefore created by making a grant of lands in England to an infant born in Scotland after the accession of James. The case was tried in the Exchequer Chamber before all the judges in the spring of 1608. Bacon's argument is the greatest of his forensic speeches. The result was a judgment in favour of the plaintiff.

P. 47, l. 27. **The beneficial effect.**—The decision greatly facilitated the union of the two countries, for after the death of all those who saw the accession of James, every native of England or of Scotland would be a naturalised citizen of Great Britain.

P. 47, l. 32. **'The Advancement of Learning.'**—'The Advancement of Learning' was in two books. The first was probably written in 1603. As it was printed off (though not published) before the second was sent to press, there was probably a considerable interval between the composition of the two. The second has many marks of haste both in the writing and the printing. The whole work was issued about the end of October, 1605. Next year Bacon asked Dr. Playfer, Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, to translate it into Latin, but the specimen of

his version was too ornate for Bacon's taste. The 'De Augmentis et Dignitate Scientiæ,' published in 1623, was a translation (by Bacon himself) of the first book of the 'Advancement,' with an expansion of the second book into eight.

P. 47, l. 34. '**The Wisdom of the Ancients.**'—'De Sapiientia Veterum.' This was written in Latin, and appeared about the end of 1609. Its subject was the interpretation of the ancient fables of Greece and Rome.

P. 48, l. 6. **Sir Thomas Bodley** (1545–1613) divided his life between learning and diplomacy, holding various offices in the University of Oxford, and undertaking various missions for the Queen. In 1598, having grown tired of foreign service, he began to labour for the establishment of the great Bodleian library. He himself had 'some purse-ability to go through with the charge,' but all his friends also made gifts of books, and in 1610 the Stationers' Company agreed to give a copy of every work which they published. The library was solemnly opened on November 8, 1603, and in 1611 Bodley began its permanent endowment with a farm in Berkshire and some houses in London.

In October, 1605, Bacon sent Bodley a copy of the 'Advancement of Learning,' with the following letter: 'I think no man may more truly say with the Psalm *Multum incola fuit anima mea* [Ps. cxx. 6: My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace], than myself. For I do confess, since I was of any understanding, my mind hath in effect been absent from that I have done; and in absence are many errors which I do willingly acknowledge; and amongst the rest this great one that led the rest; that knowing myself by inward calling to be fitter to hold a book than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes; for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by the pre-occupation of my mind. Therefore calling myself home, I have now for a time enjoyed myself; whereof likewise I desire to make the world partaker. My labours (if I may so term that which was the comfort of my other labours) I have dedicated to the King; desirous, if there be any good in them, it may be as the fat of a sacrifice, incensed to his honour; and the second copy I have sent unto you, not only in good affection, but in a kind of congruity, in regard to your great and rare desert of learning. For books are the shrines where the Saint is, or is believed to be: and you having built an Ark to save learning from deluge, deserve propriety in any new instrument or engine, whereby learning should be improved or advanced.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' III. 253.)

P. 48, l. 13. **Cogitata et Visa.**—(Things thought and seen.) One of Bacon's shorter works on the subjects of the *Instauratio Magna*.

P. 48, l. 15. **Acknowledged.**—In a letter dated February 19, 1608, Bacon in his answer said humorously, 'If I had you but a fortnight at Gorhambury I would make you tell me another tale, or else I would add a Cogitation against Libraries, and be revenged on you that way.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' III. 366.)

P. 48, l. 28. **At that very time.**—A more accurate reference to date

would have spoiled the rhetorical effect. The new edition of the 'Essays' was published in October, 1612; the 'Proposition to His Majesty . . . touching the Compiling and Management of the laws of England' belongs to the summer of 1616, and the St. John business which is mentioned as happening at this 'very time' occurred a year earlier.

P. 48, l. 30. **Oliver St. John.**—Four other men of this name played a more or less prominent part in public affairs during the first half of the seventeenth century. This Oliver St. John of Marlborough does not appear to have been related to any of them.

The House of Commons having refused supplies to the King, some of the Bishops made him a present, and their example was followed by all who had anything to hope from the favour of the Court. The King thought it would be well if their example were followed by the whole country, and a circular was sent to every county and borough asking for contributions. As the country showed no eagerness to contribute, a second circular was sent. Upon the receipt of this the Mayor of Marlborough asked St. John what he would give. St. John not only would give nothing, but wrote a letter to the Mayor stigmatising benevolences as contrary both to Magna Charta and the Act of Richard III. He was brought before the Star Chamber, sentenced to a fine of 5,000*l.*, and to imprisonment during the King's pleasure.

Though his conduct may have been, as Macaulay says, 'manly and constitutional,' St. John had little of the confessor or martyr in his composition. After six weeks of imprisonment he made an apology of which one can hardly say whether it is more prolix, more abject, or more ridiculous. He was thereupon released, and his fine remitted. Two or three years later he sent the King a letter of fulsome flattery, asking that the record of his punishment should be cancelled.

It is difficult to see much that is blameworthy in the conduct of Bacon in this business. As Attorney-General he was bound to prosecute for the Crown. When a barrister defends a person of whose innocence he is not convinced he is not held to approve the crime with which the person is charged; similarly, when Bacon prosecuted a person who had tried to stop the flow of contributions to the King, he could not be held to approve of the subscription. As a matter of fact, he did approve of it, and Coke himself had declared that it was not contrary to the laws of the realm. We may think it strange that Bacon did not consider the attempt to obtain benevolences wrong, but we can hardly reproach him for discharging his official duties when he considered it right.

P. 48, l. 37. **Peacham.**—Edmond Peacham was Rector of Hinton St. George, in Somerset. We may pity his sufferings, but we cannot admire his character. His temper was sour, his language was violent, and his veracity more than questionable. For making scandalous charges against his bishop he was tried before the High Commission and deprived of his orders. While searching his house for papers, the officials came across a sermon in which the King and the Government were attacked in unmeasured terms. The benevolences had been very

unpopular in Somerset; the Council therefore saw in this sermon a sign of conspiracy, and ordered that as Peacham would not betray his associates that he should be put 'to the manacles.' He was accordingly tortured in the presence of the Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Lieutenant of the Tower, Bacon, and the other three law-advisers of the Crown.

As the unfortunate man remained obstinately silent, no evidence of a conspiracy could be procured, but there remained the question whether he could not himself be punished for treason. James directed the Council to take the opinion of the judges of the King's Bench on the subject. When this had been done Peacham was sent down to Taunton for trial, found guilty, and sentenced to death. He was not, however, executed, but seven months after the trial he died in prison.

There are two counts in Macaulay's indictment against Bacon—'he was employed to settle the question of law by tampering with the judges, and the question of fact by torturing the prisoner,' and no lawyer ever pleaded with more perseverance and ingenuity than Macaulay does to obtain a verdict of guilty on both.

With regard to the first count it must be observed (1) that if the prosecution of Peacham were advised not one of the four judges consulted would hear the case; (2) that there was nothing novel in the judges being asked their opinion by the King; the only novelty was in their being asked it, not collectively, but individually. Coke himself, who was as eager to disoblige Bacon as he was to uphold the prerogatives of his Court, complained only of the 'particular and oracular taking of opinions,' though at a later time he expressed himself (and rightly) against the propriety of the law-officers consulting the judges at all. There is no doubt that the motive of the Council in acting as it did was to find out what were the real views of the three puisne judges, and not the views which they would express after being influenced by Coke's strength of purpose and fertility of argument.

With regard to the second count, if Macaulay had not been more eager to prove a case than to ascertain the truth he would not have singled Bacon out for special condemnation. Bacon was not 'employed' to torture the prisoner; he did not instigate the torture,¹ and he was present at it only in the discharge of his duties, as were seven other officials, several more highly placed than he.

We know that Bacon was not altogether opposed to torture. As early as 1603 he had written: 'In the highest cases of treason torture is used for discovery and not for evidence'—that is, for the discovery of what the prisoner may say about other persons and not for evidence against himself; but if we would be just to Bacon, we must, notwithstanding our abhorrence of the practice, look at it with the eyes of the

¹ The warrant for the torture was issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Steward, the Lord Privy Seal, the principal Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, and Lord Stanhope. Bacon was one of the persons to whom it was addressed, and up to this time there is no evidence that he had had anything to do with the case, directly or indirectly.

seventeenth, and not with the eyes of the twentieth, century. We must remember that it *was* the practice, extending through the whole of the three preceding reigns, and though, as Coke discovered afterwards, 'there was no *law* to warrant tortures in England,' we must also remember that 'the authority under which they were applied was not amenable to the Courts of Law. As the House of Commons now assumes the right to commit any commoner to prison for what it judges to be contempt of its authority, so the Crown then assumed the right to put any commoner to torture for what it judged to be obstinacy in refusing to answer interrogatories. As the judges cannot now call upon the House of Commons to justify the committal, so they could not then call upon the Crown to justify the torture.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' V. 93.)

There is no doubt that Bacon's standard of honour was not high, and that in this very case he was guilty of acts not mentioned in the Essay which we should consider mean and tortuous, but there is no reason why Macaulay should exert all the resources of rhetoric to secure the condemnation of one who played only a subordinate part, and that only in the discharge of his official duties, in an act which he did not regard with the horror with which Macaulay rightly regarded it.

P. 49, l. 34. **Letter to the King.**—Dated January 27, 1651. (Spedding, 'Letters,' V. 101.)

P. 50, l. 5. **Examined by Bacon.**—Macaulay has no authority whatever for this. Bacon was of course present, but the report of the first examination is in the handwriting of Winwood, and the second examination is expressly stated to be made by the four law-officers. (Spedding, 'Letters,' V. 94, 127.)

P. 50, l. 8. **A dumb devil.**—Bacon's letter to the King, dated January 21, 1615, says: 'It grieveth me exceedingly that your Majesty should be so much troubled with this matter of Peacham, whose raging devil seemeth to be turned into a dumb devil. But although we are driven to make our way through questions [that is torture] (which I wish were otherwise), yet I hope well the end will be good.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' V. 96.)

P. 50, l. 17. **Sir Matthew Hale** (1609–1676).—One of the most upright of our judges. In March, 1662, he presided at the trial of two women for witchcraft. In directing the jury he abstained from commenting on the evidence, though he made no doubt at all of the existence of witches, as proved by the Scriptures, general consent, and Acts of Parliament. The prisoners were convicted and executed.

'Sir Matthew Hale [has not] been visited with the sin of having condemned and suffered to be executed a mother and her daughter of eleven years of age for witchcraft. . . . Nor will the judges of England hereafter be considered culpable for . . . having so late as the year 1820 publicly sold for large sums the places of the officers of their courts.' ('Montagu,' clxxiv.)

P. 51, l. 23. **An usage.**—It is customary to write *a* before words

beginning with a *u* sound ; as, a use, a union. Macaulay has elsewhere (p. 70, l. 3) *an usurer*.

P. 52, l. 7. **More than thirty years before.**—In 1582. For some years before this the Council had been greatly alarmed lest the seminary priests and Jesuit missionaries should succeed in overthrowing the Government and murdering the Queen. Several of them when captured had been tortured in order to make them confess the names of the gentlemen with whom they had stayed. The complaints of their friends had spread feelings of compassion and indignation on the Continent, and Burghley wrote or caused to be written ‘a Declaration of the favourable dealing of her Majesty’s Commissioners appointed for the examination of certain traitors and of tortures unjustly reported to be done upon them for matters of religion.’ A good deal of the text is given in Miss Aitken’s ‘Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth,’ II. 133.

Soon after the declaration of the manner in which the commissioners had used the rack as an instrument of ‘favourable dealing,’ Elizabeth ordered that in future State prisoners should not be tortured.

P. 52, l. 24. **The yells of Peacham.**—To represent Bacon as going to the Tower ‘to listen to the yells of Peacham’ passes the bounds of even unfair criticism.

P. 52, l. 25. **Felton.**—John Felton (1595 ?–1628), the murderer of the Duke of Buckingham. Charles believed that the murder was not an act of private revenge, but part of a widespread conspiracy. He therefore wished Felton to be compelled to reveal his accomplices, but, being indisposed to resort to the prerogative so soon after the Petition of Right, he ordered the judges to be consulted whether the law permitted torture. The judges unanimously answered that it did not.

P. 52, l. 34. **A few years later.**—In 1628 when the case of Felton was submitted to the ‘sycophants of the Inns of Courts!’

P. 52, l. 35. **Sycophant.**—The student should always distrust a too plausible etymology. Sycophant comes from the Greek *συκοφάντης* (*sukophantēs*), a fig-shower, and is said to have been originally applied to one who informed against those who imported sacred figs from Attica. We know this is wrong, though we do not know how *fig-shower* came to mean a servile flatterer.

P. 52, l. 37. **Mr. Jardine.**—David Jardine (1794–1860), Police Magistrate at Bow Street. He was interested in legal antiquities, and made a critical study of the evidence in the Gunpowder Plot. This probably led him to investigate the history of torture. The ‘Reading of the Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England previously to the Commonwealth’ was delivered in the Michaelmas term 1836 and published in 1837.

P. 53, ll. 17, 18. **Scientia . . . reptant.**—In knowledge like winged angels, but in desires like serpents that crawl upon the ground.

P. 54, ll. 9–11. **Thomas Aquinas. . . . Sentences.**—Three of the most famous school-men. The ‘Master of the Sentences’ is Peter

Lombard, so called because of his 'Sententiarum Libri IV.,' a collection of sentences from the Fathers and other writers on points of Christian doctrine, with objections and replies.

P. 54, l. 14. **Whitehall.**—The royal palace.

P. 54, l. 29. **Pandar.**—A person who performs services similar to those of Pandarus of Troy, who procured for Troilus the favour of Chryseis. The verb is spelt *pander*.

P. 54, l. 30. **Buckingham.**—George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham (1592–1628). The chief dates in his life are :

1614. Introduced to James I. ; appointed cup-bearer.

1615. Made Gentleman of the Bedchamber.

1616. Knighted ; given a pension ; appointed Master of the Horse ; Knight of the Garter ; created Viscount Villiers and given an estate.

1617. Created Earl of Buckingham,

1618. Created Marquis of Buckingham.

1619. Lord High Admiral and head of the Government.

1620. Married Lady Katherine Manners.

1621. Shrank from supporting Bacon.

1623. Visited Madrid ; created Duke of Buckingham.

1625. Parliament refused supplies for a war if he was to have conduct of it.

1626. Parliament dissolved to save him from impeachment.

1627. Failed to relieve Rochelle.

1628. Parliament prorogued to save him again.

(August 23) Murdered.

Dr. Gardiner has shown that the popular estimate which Macaulay represents is as unjust to Buckingham as to James.

P. 55, l. 2. **Somerset.**—Robert Carr (? –1645), a Scotchman who accompanied James I. to England in 1603 and rose high in favour. He was created Earl of Somerset in 1613, but next year Villiers began to supplant him.

P. 55, l. 5. **That frightful crime.**—The murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. This was hardly more than an episode in a story of passion which smells rank across three centuries. Overbury had been an adviser of Somerset, but in the spring of 1613 his absence from the country was desired. A diplomatic appointment was offered to him, but he refused it. James, angered at the refusal, laid the matter before the Council, who committed him to the Tower for contempt of the King's commands. When he had been confined about seven months the last of several attempts made by agents of the Countess of Somerset to poison him succeeded. Many of the details of the crime are still, as Macaulay says, covered with a mysterious obscurity. Somerset and his wife were tried and found guilty of compassing the murder, though the amount of Somerset's guilt is one of the mysteries.

P. 56, l. 6. **Points of resemblance.**—The comparison between Essex and Buckingham is another needless digression.

P. 57, l. 8. **Most unpopular man.**—After the murder of the Duke of Buckingham Felton was probably the most popular man in England. Crowds shouted encouragement to him as he was on his way to the Tower, and a poem exhorting him to enjoy his bondage was ascribed (though wrongly) to Ben Jonson. In this the murderer was bid

‘Undaunted stand and joy to be
Of public sorrow the epitome.’

P. 57, l. 13. **Declared.**—The second Parliament of Charles I. (1626) formally impeached Buckingham.

P. 58, l. 14. **In 1616.**—Bacon was given the choice whether he would be Privy Councillor at once, or have assurance to succeed the Lord Chancellor. He wrote to Villiers (June 3, 1616): ‘I do accept of the former, to be Councillor for the present, and to give over pleading at bar; let the other matter rest upon my proof, and his Majesty’s pleasure, and the accidents of time.’ (Spedding, ‘Letters,’ V. 348.) Bacon was sworn Privy Councillor on June 9.

P. 58, l. 15. **In March, 1617.**—Ellesmere (Lord Brackley) delivered up the Great Seal on March 6, and on the 7th it was given with the title of Lord Keeper to Bacon. On the Sunday after New Year’s Day 1618 he was made Lord Chancellor.

P. 58, l. 18. **Rode in State.**—One of the gossiping correspondents of the time says: ‘Our Lord Keeper exceeds all his predecessors in the bravery and multitude of his servants. . . . On the first day of term he appeared in his greatest glory; for to the Hall, besides his own retinue, did accompany him all the Lords of his Majesty’s Council and others, with all knights and gentlemen that could get horses and foot-cloths.’ (Spedding, ‘Letters,’ VI. 181.)

Bacon himself says: ‘There was much ado and a great deal of world. But this matter of pomp, which is heaven to some men, is hell to me, or purgatory at least.’ (Id. 194.)

P. 58, l. 24. **Speech.**—It is given at length in Spedding’s ‘Letters,’ VI. 182 et seqq.

P. 58, l. 37. **Execution of Raleigh.**—In November, 1604, Raleigh was tried for treason (of which he was probably innocent) and sentenced to death. The sentence was not carried out, but he was confined in the Tower till March, 1616, when he was released, that he might go to Orinoco in search of gold. When he returned without the gold James gave orders for him to be brought to trial, but was told that as Raleigh was under sentence of death he could not be tried again. He was accordingly executed on the former sentence (October 29, 1618).

P. 59, l. 3. **The War of Bohemia.** The Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648).—In 1618 the Protestant nobles of Bohemia rose against their king, and after his death deposed his successor, Ferdinand, and chose James’s son-in-law, Frederick, the Elector Palatine, in his place. James was urged to support the Protestant cause in the person of his

daughter's husband, but declined. In 1620, Tilly, the General of Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, compelled the Estates of Upper Austria to submit to Ferdinand (now Emperor), and a Spanish army under Spinola occupied the Western Palatinate.

P. 59, l. 18. **Patents of monopoly.**—For a full history of the patents and monopolies, and a judicial discussion of Bacon's conduct in relation thereto, see Gardiner's 'History of England, 1603-1642,' vol. IV. ch. i.

Patents are still granted to inventors, giving them the sole right of manufacturing, for a certain number of years, the articles invented by them, and the monopoly is extended to those who introduce foreign inventions. Similar patents were granted in the reign of James.

P. 60, l. 3. **The most disgraceful.**—The patent for the manufacture of gold and silver lace was disgraceful enough, but a writer less dogmatic than Macaulay would hardly have ventured to call it the most disgraceful. The gold and silver thread for making lace used to be imported. Lady Bedford brought over a French woman to give lessons in its manufacture, and application was made for a patent. The application was granted. Infringements having occurred, the Council was perplexed, and for nearly a year and a half Ellesmere refused to affix the Great Seal to a new patent. The patentees promised to import annually bullion worth 5,000*l.*, and to compensate the King for the loss of the duties hitherto paid on the lace. They also associated with themselves Sir Edward Villiers, the brother of the rising favourite. Infringements continued, and the manufacture was taken entirely into the King's hands. Out of the profits a pension of 500*l.* was to be given to Sir Edward Villiers, who had sunk 4,000*l.* in the scheme, and another of 800*l.* to Christopher Villiers for no reason at all. A proclamation authorising the new arrangement was issued on March 22, 1618.

Bacon was in favour of the monopoly, because in his eyes, as in the eyes of his contemporaries, gold and silver were the wealth of a country: and if wealth was to be frittered away in adorning the dress of fine ladies and gentlemen, it should be the wealth of Spaniards and Frenchmen, not of Englishmen. The goldsmiths, however, urged that a patent ought not to be granted at all since the manufacture was not new. The reply of the Government was that, if so, they must have broken the law which forbade the melting of gold and silver coins for the purpose.

Among the Commissioners under the new arrangement were Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michell. Their unscrupulous energy was exerted in enforcing the monopoly. Instruments were seized and artificers imprisoned on every side. 'It was at this time that a new plan was suggested to James by Bacon and Montague. The goldsmiths and silkmen, they thought, might be required to enter into bonds not to sell their wares to unlicensed persons. The King accepted the proposal, and wrote a letter recommending it to the Commissioners. Mompesson and Michell at once hastened to carry the scheme into execution. Five silk mercers were brought before the Commission. Mompesson told them that if they refused to seal the bonds "all the prisons in London

should be filed, and thousands should rot in prison." Those, however, who were interested in the monopoly were anxious to secure higher authority on their side than Mompesson and Michell. Yelverton was one of the Commissioners, and his support would be worth having; but it was known that, frightened at the irritation aroused, he was growing cold in the affair. Sir Edward Villiers accordingly visited him, hoping to spur him on to action. . . . Yelverton hardly knew what to do. He was afraid of giving offence to Buckingham, and he was no less afraid of giving offence to everybody else. At last he decided upon a middle course. He committed the silk mercers to the Fleet, but at the same time threw the whole burden of the responsibility upon Bacon. If the Lord Chancellor, he said, did not confirm the commitment, he would instantly release them. Bacon, who never shrank from responsibility, had the men brought before him, heard what they had to say, and sent them back to prison.

'The whole city was in an uproar. Four aldermen offered to stand bail for the prisoners in 100,000*l*. A deputation was sent to the King, who, after listening to the objections against the proceedings of the Commissioners, answered that he would not govern his subjects by bond, and ordered the men to be set at liberty. . . . It is of course possible that Bacon, with his high ideas of the prerogative, might have felt it right to commit the prisoners simply for contempt and that he may have cheerfully acquiesced in the appearance of the King upon the scene, to smooth down the asperities which had been the result of the conduct of the Commissioners. However this may have been, the concession thus made was not the commencement of any change of policy. On October 10 a fresh proclamation was issued authorising the continuance of the system. "Whereas," such was the preamble of the proclamation, "the art or mystery of making gold and silver thread (a commodity of continual use in this our kingdom of England) hath formerly been used and made by strangers in foreign parts only, and from thence transported into this our realm, but of late hath been practised by some of our loving subjects. . . . And finding that the exercising of this art or mystery (considering the continual use of bullion to be spent in the manufacture thereof) is a matter of great importance, and therefore fitter for our own immediate care than to be trusted into the hands of any private persons, for that the consumption or preservation of bullion, whereof our coins, the sinews and strength of our state, are made, is a matter of so high consequence as it is only proper for ourself to take care and account of:—We have, heretofore, to the good liking of the inventors thereof, taken the said manufacture of gold and silver thread into our hands, and so purpose to retain and continue it, to be exercised only by agents for ourselves, who shall from time to time be accountable to us for the same."

'These words may fairly be taken as Bacon's defence of himself. It is impossible for any candid person to read them without coming to the conclusion that he was contending for a great public policy. That his policy was erroneous there can be no doubt whatever. It was not really of the slightest importance that bullion should be kept within the realm

by artificial means. It was of the very highest importance that questions arising from royal grants should not be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts, to be placed in the hands of a Royal Commission. But in justice to Bacon it must be remembered that his constitutional theory was never fairly carried out. He would have assigned large powers to the Crown, but he would have kept those powers from being used abusively, by providing that the King should be constantly enlightened by frequent Parliaments. . . . That such a relation is in the long run untenable, it is impossible to doubt. In England it never had a fair chance. James took one half of Bacon's policy and rejected the other.' (Gardiner's 'History of England,' IV. 17-20.)

P. 60, ll. 5, 6. **Overreach . . . Greedy.**—Sir Giles Overreach is a cruel extortioner and Greedy a hungry Justice of the Peace in Massinger's play 'A New Way to Pay Old Debts.'

'Sir Giles Mompesson had fortune enough in the country if that sphere could have contented him, but the vulgar and universal error of satiety with present enjoyments made him too big for a rustical condition, and when he came to Court he was too little for that, so that some novelty must be taken up to set him in *aequilibrio* to the place he was in, no matter what it was, let it be never so pestilent and mischievous to others he cared not so he found benefit by it. To him Michell is made co-partner, a poor sneaking justice.' (Wilson, 'Life and Reign of James I.,' sub anno 1621, fo. 155.)

P. 60, l. 9. **Was adulterated.**—The patentees, having no fear of trade competition, made spurious goods. There is a reference to this in another of Massinger's plays, 'The Bondman,' II. iii.

'If . . . for . . . cheating heirs
With your new counterfeit gold and gummed velvets
He does not transcend all that went before him
Call in his patent.'

P. 61, l. 4. **To dictate.**—To assert that Bacon allowed Buckingham to dictate many of his decisions is Macaulay's emphatic way of saying that Bacon allowed Buckingham to write to him on behalf of suitors. The following letter is a fair sample of the Duke's efforts to interfere with the course of justice: 'Sir John Wentworth, whose business I now recommend, is a gentleman whom I esteem in more than an ordinary degree. And therefore I desire your Lordship to show him what favour you can for my sake in his suit which his Majesty hath referred unto your Lordship which I will acknowledge as a courtesy unto me' (Spedding, 'Letters,' VII. 6). Bacon appears at first to have expostulated against the Duke's interference, and there is no evidence, except in perhaps one case, that this interference led Bacon to pervert justice. Montagu points out that the Duke continued to write to Bacon's successor, Archbishop Williams, and he gives in a note (Z Z) two letters to Lord Burghley, asking him to use his influence with Bacon's predecessor.

P. 61, l. 7. **Raised to the Woolsack.**—Made Lord Chancellor (or Lord Keeper). The Lord Chancellor, when presiding over the deliberations of the House of Lords, sits on a cushion called the Woolsack.

P. 61, l. 7. **Represented this strongly to Villiers.**—Macaulay is rather vague in his reference to dates here. Villiers may be considered as 'just entering on his career' of favourite in 1614; Bacon did not become Lord Chancellor till 1618. The date of the letter of advice is uncertain and (like the authorship) can be only surmised from internal evidence. The letter exists in two forms, neither found among Bacon's papers. The quotation is from the second form. (Spedding, 'Letters,' VI. 33.)

P. 62, l. 26. **A hundred thousand pounds.**—Bacon after his fall, writing of his money difficulties to Buckingham, said: 'Some wretched detractor hath told you that it were strange I should be in debt; for that I could not but have received an hundred thousand pounds gifts since I had the seal; which is an abominable falsehood. Such tales as these made St. James say that the tongue is a fire, and itself fired from hell, whither when these tongues shall return, they will beg a drop of cold water to cool them. I praise God for it, I never took penny for any benefice or ecclesiastical living, I never took penny for releasing anything I stopped at the seal, I never took penny for any commission or things of that nature, I never shared with any servant for any second or inferior profit. My offences I have myself recorded; wherein I studied, as a good confessant, guiltiness and not excuse; and therefore I hope it leaves me fair to the King's grace, and will turn many men's hearts to me.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' VII. 296.)

P. 62, l. 29. **The interval.**—1614–1621.

P. 65, l. 10. **Sir Anthony Weldon.**—Was Clerk of the Green Cloth to James I. from 1609–1617, when he was dismissed for satirising the Scots. His 'Court and Character of James I.' provoked much criticism, and Mr. Spedding dismisses as not deserving 'to be so much as quoted' the story told at length as true by Macaulay.

P. 65, l. 35. **Rugged rhymes.**—The poem is number LXIX. in Jonson's *Underwoods*. Montagu gives it in full. (celix.)

P. 66, l. 11. **Retiring to Gorhambury.**—'For relaxation from his arduous occupations he was accustomed to retire to his magnificent and beautiful residence at Gorhambury, the dwelling-place of his ancestors. . . . About half a mile from this noble mansion of which the ruins yet remain . . . the Lord Chancellor built, at the expense of about 10,000*l.*, a most ingeniously contrived house, where, in the society of his philosophical friends, he escaped from the splendour of Chancellor, to study and meditation. "Here," says Aubrey, "his lordship much meditated, his servant, Mr. Bushell, attending him with his pen and inkhorn to set down his present notions. Mr. Thomas Hobbes told me that his lordship would employ him often in this service whilst he was there, and was better pleased with his minutes, or notes set down by him, than by others who did not well understand his lordship."' (Montagu, celvii.)

P. 66, l. 13. **One of his most interesting essays.**—The essay ‘Of Gardens,’ which begins ‘God Almighty first planted a garden. And indeed it is the purest of human pleasures.’

P. 66, l. 21. **Hobbes.**—Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), generally known as ‘Hobbes of Malmesbury’ or ‘Leviathan Hobbes,’ stands with Bacon and Locke in the front rank of English philosophers. His greatest work is ‘Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil.’ Both the philosophical and the religious views expounded in this and in his other works were furiously assailed as heterodox, but his influence on subsequent thinkers was very great. It may be distinctly traced in Spinoza, Diderot, and Rousseau, and less markedly in Locke.

P. 66, l. 31. **Been created Baron Verulam.**—On July 12, 1618.

P. 66, l. 33. **Raised to the higher dignity.**—He was created Viscount St. Alban (not St. Albans) in January, 1621.

P. 66, l. 34. **Most flattering terms.**—The patent states that the King ‘thought nothing could adorn his government more, or afford greater encouragement to virtue and public spirit, than the raising worthy persons to honour, therefore, he, after mature deliberation, had, in the person of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, Baron of Verulam, descended from an ancient and honourable family, so much the more illustrious, by his succeeding his most worthy and prudent father in the office of keeper of the great seal, to which, through various offices of inferior dignity, from a just experience of his capacity and fidelity, he had by his majesty been led, and his majesty reflecting moreover on his acceptable and faithful services, rendered as well by assiduity and integrity in the administration of justice, as by care and prudence in the discharge of his duty as privy counsellor, and in the management of his revenue, without respect either to private advantage or vain breath of popular applause, had deemed fit to advance his dearly beloved and faithful counsellor to a higher rank in the peerage.’ (Montagu, ccciii.)

P. 66, l. 34. **The Prince of Wales.**—Afterwards Charles I. The patent was also witnessed by ten of the most illustrious peers.

P. 66, l. 37. **Theobalds.**—A mansion near Cheshunt, built by the ‘Great Lord Burghley’ for himself. It became a favourite residence of James I. (who died there).

P. 67, l. 17. **Only three days after.**—Parliament met on January 30, 1621.

P. 67, l. 17. **The pageant . . . at Theobalds.**—The investiture as Viscount.

P. 68, l. 6. **Phænomena.**—(Greek *φαινόμενον*, *phainomenon*, Latin *phenomenon*, an appearance). Macaulay’s spelling is a somewhat late survival of the custom of transferring to English the Latin *æ* representing the Greek *α*, as *dæmon*, *chimæra*, *pædagogue*. The word occurs in the singular in the First Essay on Pitt. (My edition, p. 12, l. 25.)

The use of *phenomenal* for *extraordinary* is a vulgar error.

P. 68, l. 9. **Said James.**—In his speech at the opening of the Parliament. 'At his first parliament,' he said, 'he had been ignorant of the customs of the land. At his second parliament a strange kind of beasts called Undertakers had come between him and his subjects. The present parliament had been called on his own free motion.' ('Proceedings and Debates,' I. 2.)

P. 68, l. 10. **Undertakers.**—James's second Parliament was greatly excited by the suspicion, not altogether groundless, that the Government had availed itself of the services of undertakers, that is of persons who had *undertaken* to manipulate the elections so as to secure a majority for the Court.

P. 68, l. 24. **Williams.**—John Williams (1582-1650) was a Welshman, who became Archbishop of York. Having somehow attracted the attention of James, to whom his wide reading and facile speech made him a welcome companion, his rise in the Church was very rapid. In 1620 he became indispensable to the favourite by removing the difficulties in the way of his marriage. That year Williams was made Dean of Westminster, and next year, on the fall of Bacon, Lord Keeper of the great seal. To compensate him for the loss of the presents which the example of his predecessor had shown to be dangerous, Williams was made Bishop of Lincoln also. He did not hold as high a place in the esteem of Charles as of James, and his love of moderation (which had already got him into trouble with both the Puritans and the High Church at the University) brought him into collision with Laud. In 1635 he was found guilty of subornation of perjury in a Star Chamber case, fined and imprisoned in the Tower. In 1641, however, he was made Archbishop of York.

P. 68, l. 29. **Haughty and impracticable.**—The Earl was haughty because, being of ancient family, he did not want his daughter to marry one whom he considered an upstart. As he did not desire the marriage he would not comply with the two conditions, that his daughter should turn Protestant and should have a very large fortune.

P. 69, l. 6. **To find some foreign embassy.**—In this passage Macaulay follows Montagu (cccx.), who in support of his statement quotes the very words of Hacket in the Life of Archbishop Williams. But Mr. Gardiner points out ('History,' IV. 53) that Villiers left England in January, when there was no expectation of any disturbance in Parliament, and that he returned in April.

P. 69, ll. 17, 18. **Mompesson . . . Michell.**—Michell was committed to the Tower by the House of Commons. When officers were sent to arrest Mompesson he jumped out of a window and escaped. In his absence he was degraded from his knighthood, sentenced to a fine of ten thousand pounds, and condemned to perpetual outlawry.

P. 69, l. 34. **Aubrey.**—Macaulay gives, as though it were his own impartial account, the *ex parte* statements of Aubrey and Egerton. These appear to be the facts in the case of Aubrey: he had been employed by Sir William Brunker as the receiver of certain fines. The

two men quarrelled, and an action at common law resulted in Aubrey's favour. Brunker appealed to the Court of Chancery, and in April 1618 the suit came on for hearing before Bacon, who declined to deliver a positive opinion till the accounts had been examined. The strength of Aubrey's case did not, apparently, lie in his figures, and he bribed and cajoled two witnesses to give evidence in his favour. On June 1 he placed 100*l.* in the hands of his counsel, Sir George Hastings, and requested him to convey the money to Bacon. On June 13, however, 'a killing order' ejected him from his post and appointed a new receiver in his place. As the accounts had not been rendered the case was not closed till November, 1620, when Bacon acknowledged the justice of many of his claims, but as he did not get all that he asked for he was left a dissatisfied man. When the report was made to the House of Commons Sir George Hastings, who happened to be a member, said that Aubrey had placed a box in his hands which he presented to the Chancellor without knowing what was in it. Bacon hesitated, said it was too much, and finally accepted it as a present from Hastings and not from Aubrey. (Gardiner, 'History,' IV. 58 et seqq.)

P. 70, l. 7. '**A killing decree.**'—Montagu (Note GGG) gives two versions of the report of the Committee. The first says that 'a very prejudicial and murdering order was made against Aubrey,' and another of the same date speaks of 'a killing order.' I cannot find the phrase 'a killing *decree*' in either, though Montagu uses it in his text, whence Macaulay doubtless took it.

P. 70, l. 9. **Egerton.**—A dispute, the details of which need not be mentioned here, had arisen between Egerton and a relative respecting the ownership of some lands. Lord Ellesmere was Chancellor and gave a decision against Egerton, who placed every possible obstacle in the way of carrying it out. When Bacon became Chancellor, Egerton applied to him for the return of a certain deed and was refused. Eight days afterwards he asked to speak to Bacon, and was told he was too busy to see him. Thereupon he handed a bag containing 400*l.* to Sir Richard Young, who delivered it to his master. 'But for one circumstance it is not improbable that Bacon would at once have rejected the money. It was true that it was the ordinary custom to present the Chancellor with a gratuity at the conclusion of a suit. But it had been Ellesmere and not Bacon who had given judgment on the main point. . . . It happened, however, that Edward Egerton had been his [Bacon's] client in the earlier stages of the dispute, and it was in this capacity that he now approached him. The money, Bacon was told, was offered as a thankful remembrance from a client. He was to buy with it a suit of hangings for his new abode at York House. . . . He now took the purse, poised it in his hand, said that it was too much, and that he could not accept it. Yet at last he gave way to the repeated assurance that payment for past services was intended. He put the money aside and told Young to assure the donor that "he had not only enriched him but had laid a tie on him to do justice in all his rightful causes."' (Gardiner, 'History,' IV. 62.)

P. 70, l. 17. **On the 19th of March.**—Macaulay has condensed the account given by Montagu (Note GGG). He does not mention that it was Bacon's old enemy Coke, now the leading spirit in the House of Commons, who said, 'we should take heed that the Commission do not hinder the manner of our parliamentary proceedings.'

P. 70, l. 28. **Overwhelmed with shame.**—This is Macaulay's paraphrase of the language of the report: 'The Lord Admiral [Buckingham] declared [to the House of Lords] that he had been twice with the Lord Chancellor to visit him, being sent to him by the King. The first time he found his Lordship very sick and heavy, the second time he found him better and much comforted for that he heard that the complaint of the grievances of the Commons were [*sic*] come into this House where he assured himself to find honourable justice, in confidence whereof his lordship had written a letter to this House.' (Montagu, Note GGG.)

P. 70, l. 36. **Neither expected nor wished to survive his disgrace.**—There is nothing in the letter to justify this expression unless it be the phrase in which Bacon speaks of his conviction, 'that I am not far from heaven whereof I feel the first fruits!'

P. 70, l. 37. **Remained in his bed.**—Montagu says in his text:—'The state of the Chancellor's mind during this storm has been variously represented; by some of his contemporaries he is said to have been depressed; by others that he was merry, and not doubting that he should be able to ride safely through the tempest. His playfulness of spirit never forsook him. When, upon the charge being first made, his servants rose as he passed through the hall, "Sit down, my friends," he said, "your rise has been my fall;" and when one of his friends said, "You must look around you," he replied, "I look above me."' (Montagu, cccxxviii.)

Montagu, who desires to whitewash Bacon, is a much fairer reporter than Macaulay, who desires to blacken him. Montagu quotes in a footnote the 'Some say' of an anonymous gossip, and Macaulay, ignoring the statement in the text, gives as the truth the story in the footnote, without a hint as to its want of authenticity.

P. 71, l. 13. **He made the most of his short respite.**—In the following sentences Macaulay's paraphrase grossly misrepresents his authority, Thomas Bushell, one of Bacon's servants, and that authority is a bad one at best, as Bushell wrote only from memory, and long after the event, and we know that many of the statements which he makes respecting Bacon are wrong. In addition to which Mr. Spedding places at a period anterior to the bribery charges the interview at which the words are said to have been spoken. ('Letters,' VII. 199.)

P. 71, l. 24. **Whatever Mr. Montagu may say.**—All that Montagu says is 'The King's fears . . . disposed him to dissolve the parliament.' (cccxlii.)

P. 72, l. 9. **Mr. Montagu is exceedingly angry.**—Montagu says: 'The King fatally resolved upon this concession' (cccxlili), and calls James Bacon's 'weak and cowardly master' (cccxliv). When people are

'exceedingly angry' they generally express themselves at greater length and with greater strength.

P. 72, l. 18. **Artful and pathetic composition.**—Macaulay purposely uses the word *artful* with a sinister meaning which the letter does not justify. In this Bacon professes 'gladness in some things': 'The first is, that hereafter the greatness of a judge or magistrate shall be no sanctuary or protection of guiltiness; which, in few words, is the beginning of a golden world. The next, that after this example, it is like that judges will fly from anything that is in the likeness of corruption (though it were at a great distance). as from a serpent; which tendeth to the purging of the courts of justice, and the reducing them to their true honour and splendour. And in these two points God is my witness that, though it be my fortune to be the anvil whereupon these good effects are beaten and wrought, I take no small comfort.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' VII. 242.)

The Chancellor asked that the King should take the seal from him, which, he hoped, might serve in itself for an expiation of his faults; and he made 'humble suit' that his penitent submission might be his sentence, and the loss of the seal his punishment.

P. 72, l. 37. **With great delicacy.**—The twelve 'deputies' may have performed, and probably did perform, their duties 'with great delicacy,' but there is not one word in Montagu's text or in the journals of the House of Lords (which he prints in full) to show how they behaved.

P. 73, l. 6. **The next day.**—It was not the next day. Bacon's confession was delivered on April 30. The deputies visited him on the same day, as is shown by the Lords' journal. On May 2 it was reported that the great seal had been taken from him on the 1st, and it was 'agreed to proceed to sentence the Lord Chancellor to-morrow morning; wherefore the gentleman usher and the sergeant-at-arms, attendants on this House, were commanded to go and summon him, the Lord Chancellor, to appear here in person to-morrow morning at nine of the clock, and the sergeant was commanded to take his mace with him and to show it unto his lordship at the said summons.'

P. 73, l. 21. **The verge of the court.**—The Court of the Marshalsea 'was originally held before the steward and marshal of the King's house and was instituted to administer justice between the King's domestic servants, that they might not be drawn into other courts and thereby the King lose their services. . . . The verge of the court in this respect extends for twelve miles round the King's place of residence.' ('Blackstone,' III. vi.)

P. 73, l. 26. **Mr. Moore's lovers.**—Thomas Moore (1779-1852), a poet generally spoken of as 'Tom Moore,' wrote 'Irish Melodies' (many of them love songs), 'Lalla Rookh,' the 'Fudge Family,' &c. The lines quoted—

'Oh! what was love made for if 'tis not the same
Through joy and through torment, through glory and shame?'

occur in one of the 'Irish Melodies,' 'Come, rest in this bosom.' In the *Review* (p. 53) the second line was given as 'Through grief and through danger, through sin and through shame.'

P. 73, l. 30. **He assures us.**—Macaulay here utterly misrepresents the text. Montagu does not assure us that Bacon was innocent; he only says, 'the cause of his having abandoned his defence he never revealed.' Montagu gives the confession to the peers in full, and is far from suggesting that Bacon had wilfully blackened his own character by a false confession. A person who is conscious of his guilt may, when tried, plead 'not guilty' in order to have an opportunity of showing his conduct in the best light and presenting all the mitigating circumstances. What Montagu does not understand is why Bacon did not do so. And it is hard to understand. Montagu does not deny the offence any more than Bacon did; he simply brings forward many illustrations of the fact that it was customary to make presents to officials. Of all the presents made to Bacon a very small number indeed came from the parties to pending suits—the rest were strictly in accordance with the established custom. The custom was bad, but if Bacon was black he was very little blacker than the men of his time—than many who are highly praised earlier in the Essay. If Macaulay had correctly represented Montagu he would have saved himself the trouble (or deprived himself of the pleasure?) of writing the next dozen pages of argument and declamation.

P. 74, l. 33. **Solemnly declares himself guilty.**—I must repeat that Montagu does not impute such conduct to Bacon.

P. 75, l. 30. **Homer.**—Montagu quotes twelve lines from the 'Iliad.' The more relevant are Englished, thus:

'On seats of stone within the sacred place
The reverend elders nodded for the case.
Alternate each th' attesting sceptre took,
And rising solemn each his sentence spoke:
Two golden talents lay amidst in sight,
The prize of him who best adjudged the right.'

P. 75, l. 31. **Plutarch.**—The passage is: 'By supplying the people with money for the public diversions, and for their attendance in courts of judicature and by other pensions and gratuities he [Pericles] so inveigled them as to avail himself of their interest against the Council of the Areopagus.'

P. 76, l. 1. **Hesiod.**—A didactic Greek poet, contemporary of Homer. His father migrated from a Bæotian colony in Asia Minor and

'In Ascrea's wretched hamlet at the feet
Of Helicon he fixed his humble seat.'

When he died he left considerable property to be divided between the poet and his brother Perses. The division of the inheritance lay with the Kings, who in Bæotia exercised the function of judges. According to

Hesiod's account Perses found means to bribe them, and was rewarded with a great deal more than his due share of the estate.

P. 76, l. 4. βασιλῆας δωροφάγους. *Basilēas dōrophagous*, gift-devouring kings.

P. 76, l. 6. **Anytus**.—This is what Plutarch says of Anytus: 'To some he [Alcibiades] behaved with great insolence—to Anytus, for instance, the son of Anthemion. Anytus was very fond of him, and happening to make an entertainment for some strangers he desired Alcibiades to give him his company. Alcibiades would not accept of the invitation but, having drunk deep with some of his companions, he went thither to play some frolic. . . . He stood at the door of the house . . . and seeing a great number of gold and silver cups upon the table he ordered his servants to take half of them and carry them to his own house. . . . The company resented the affront and said that he had behaved very rudely and insolently to Anytus. "Not at all," said Anytus, "but rather kindly, since he has left us half when he knew it was in his power to take the whole."' ('Life of Alcibiades.')

And this is what Diodorus Siculus says: 'Informed of the presence in the Hellespont of the Athenian forces the Lacedæmonians sent an army and a fleet against Pylus. . . . On hearing this the Athenians dispatched to the aid of the besieged thirty ships under the command of Anytus the son of Anthemion. He set forth, but assailed by storms, failed to double Cape Malea, and returned to Athens. The people, filled with indignation, accused him of treason and brought him to trial. Anytus, seeing himself seriously compromised, saved his life by means of his money; and he is reckoned the first Athenian who corrupted his judges.' ('Bibliotheca,' XIII. lxiv.)

It is interesting to note that in the *Review* (p. 55) *Anthemion* appeared as *Anthemius*.

P. 76, l. 8. **Solon**.—The great Athenian law-giver.

P. 76, l. 12. **Verres**.—Verres, who was prætor of Sicily for three years, did not content himself with plundering the province. When the Sicilians brought a complaint before the Roman Senate of his tyranny and rapacity, Cicero undertook their case, but he was called upon to deliver only one of the famous six orations which he had prepared. As soon as that was delivered, Verres, despairing of the success of his defence, fled the country. Before this he felt confident: the 'gains' of his first year of office, he said, sufficed for himself; those of the second were for his friends; and those of the third more than sufficed for the bribery of the senators.

P. 76, l. 13. **Fee-simple**.—A 'tenant in fee-simple (or, as he is frequently styled, tenant in fee) is he that hath lands, tenements, or hereditaments to hold to him and his heirs for ever, generally, absolutely, and simply, without mentioning what heirs but referring that to his own pleasure or to the disposition of the law. This is property in its highest degree.' ('Blackstone,' II. vii.)

P. 76, l. 15. **Alibi**.—The word in Latin means elsewhere. In law the term is applied to the attempt to prove a person's innocence by

showing that at the time when the offence was committed in one place he was in another place. 'I know'd what 'ud come o' this here mode o' doin' business. Oh, Sammy, Sammy, vy vornt there a alleybi?' ('Pickwick,' Part II. chap. vi.)

P. 76, l. 16. **Clodius**.—See Note to p. 24, l. 1, s.v. 'Cicero.'

P. 76, l. 21. **Cacus**.—A mythological thief, son of Vulcan and Medusa; strangled by Hercules, whose cows he had stolen. His exploits are told at length by Virgil in the 'Æneid,' Bk. VIII.

P. 76, l. 21. **Barabbas**.—'Now Barabbas was a robber.' (John XVIII. 40.)

P. 76, l. 21. **Turpin**.—Everybody has heard of Dick Turpin and Black Bess. Though most of the deeds ascribed to man and mare are legendary, the less noble animal was real. He was born at Hempstead (Essex) in 1706, and hanged at York in 1739 for horse-stealing. He was a vulgar ruffian enough, but Ainsworth has thrown the glamour of romance over him in 'Rookwood.'

P. 76, l. 21. **No apology**.—Macaulay avoids the point at issue. It is true that the thefts of Cacus and Barabbas were no excuse for those of Turpin, but if the three lived at the same time, if thieving were then common and not considered highly reprehensible, we ought to measure Turpin's conduct not by our standard but by the standard of that time. Stealing is immoral everywhere and always, but we do not award the same condemnation to stealing in modern Middlesex and in ancient Lacedæmon—indeed the Spartan boy who stole the fox is almost a popular hero.

P. 76, l. 22. **Men of Belial**.—Jezebel 'wrote in the letters saying . . . "Set Naboth on high among the people: and set two men, sons of Belial . . . to bear [false] witness against him."' (1 Kings XXI. 9, 10.)

P. 76, l. 24. **Oates and Dangerfield**.—Titus Oates and Thomas Dangerfield, the chief perjurers in the 'Popish Plot' of 1678.

P. 76, l. 34. **St. Louis**.—Louis IX. who was King of France from 1226–1270.

P. 76, l. 37. **John Newton** (1725–1807).—Evangelical preacher and religious poet. He dated his 'conversion' from the 21st (O.S. 10th) of March, 1748, which he observed ever afterwards as a day of humiliation and thanksgiving. Both before and after his conversion he was engaged as a sailor in the African slave trade. When he was made captain he says, 'I had now the command and care of thirty persons; I endeavoured to treat them with humanity and to set them a good example. I likewise established public worship according to the Liturgy twice every Lord's day, officiating myself.' (Authentic Narrative, Letter XI.) Macaulay paraphrases this: 'He went largely provided with hymn-books and handcuffs.' In 1755 he gave up the sea; in 1764 he was ordained and became curate of Olney, where Cowper settled in 1767. In 1779 the two men published the 'Olney Hymns.' Of these, 'How sweet the name of

Jesus sounds,' and 'Glorious things of Thee are spoken,' are the best known of Newton's.

The presents of Bacon and the trade of Newton would now both be considered infamous, but there was little in the conduct of either which was considered reprehensible by the majority of their contemporaries. If then we can look charitably on Newton, why cannot we extend our charity to Bacon?

P. 77, l. 5. **Twenty**.—In the *Review* it is *fifty*.

P. 78, l. 3. **Hugh Latimer** (1485?–1555), Bishop of Worcester.—The majority of his sermons preserved were preached at St. Paul's Cross or before King Edward VI. The most famous are the sermons on the Card, on the Plough, on Covetousness, on the Lord's Prayer, and the Seven Sermons preached before Edward VI. on the Fridays in Lent, 1549.

P. 78, l. 9. **Twenty pages**.—Macaulay is well within the mark in saying that he could fill twenty pages with Latimer's denunciations, but why cannot he see that the frequency of the reproof shows the frequency of the offence, and that the absence of reproof from all except stern moralists like Latimer shows how venial it was considered?

P. 79, l. 1. **Omnes diligunt munera**.—'Everyone loveth gifts.' (Isaiah I, 23.) The passage quoted is from the third of the Sermons before Edward VI. ('Arber's Reprints,' 88.)

P. 79, l. 8. **Cambyses**.—Son of Cyrus the Great; succeeded his father as King of Persia in B.C. 529, and died in 521. The passage quoted is from the same Third Sermon. ('Arber's Reprints,' 97.)

P. 79, l. 13. **Handmaker**.—From the context this word seems to mean a thief, a covetous person, a bribe taker, but I have not seen it except in Latimer, who uses it in the passage quoted, and in the following sentence in the first Sermon before Edward VI. 'Surueiers there be yat gredyly gorge vp their couetouse, guttes hande makers.' ('Arber's Reprints,' 42.) The word is not given in any of the dictionaries—not even in the 'New English Dictionary.'

P. 79, l. 17. **Quick**.—Alive.

P. 79, l. 22. **In another sermon**.—The fifth of those preached before Edward VI. ('Arber's Reprints,' 141.)

Scala inferni, the ladder to hell. The preacher has just been speaking of the *Scala coeli*, the ladder to heaven.

P. 79, l. 32. **Hangum tuum**.—Court records were formerly kept in Latin, and *judicium suum* (in such a phrase as *et ideo habeat judicium suum*, 'Let him therefore have his judgment') is found in them in reference to hanging. *Hangum tuum* is mock Latin, invented probably as a parody of this. ('N.E.D.')

P. 79, l. 33. **A Tyburn tippet**.—The hangman's rope. London hangings used to take place at Tyburn, near where the Marble Arch now stands.

P. 79, l. 33. **An**.—If.

P. 79, l. 36. **One more passage.**—From the second Sermon on Covetousness preached before Edward VI. in 1550. (Sermons, 89. This is not reprinted by Mr. Arber.)

P. 80, l. 10. **Sprang from the body of the people.**—Latimer was the son of a yeoman.

P. 82, l. 34. **Demosthenes.**—Macaulay probably had in mind no particular passage, but rather the whole tenour of certain orations—that ‘De Falsa Legatione,’ for instance, which is directed to prove that Æschines, sent on an embassy to Philip, had accepted rich presents, in reality bribes to betray his country.

P. 83, l. 4. **Parliaments of France.**—In France a parliament was not, as with us, a deliberative and legislative chamber, but a royal court of justice. Besides the parliament of Paris there were more than a dozen provincial parliaments. They performed almost the same functions for the King as the feudal courts performed for the barons.

P. 83, l. 28. **Bacon in his Confession.**—This is what he says : ‘24, 25, 26. To the four and twentieth article, five and twentieth, and six and twentieth articles of the charge, videlicet, The four and twentieth : There being a reference from his Majesty to his Lordship of a business between the grocers and the apothecaries, the Lord Chancellor received of the grocers two hundred pounds. The five and twentieth article : In the same cause, he received of the apothecaries that stood with the grocers, a taster of gold worth between 400 and 500*l.*, and a present of ambergrease. And the six and twentieth article : He received of the new company of the apothecaries that stood against the grocers, an hundred pounds : To these I confess and declare, That the several sums from the three parties were received and for that it was no judicial business, but a concord or composition between the parties, and that as I thought all had received good, and they were all three common purses, I thought it the less matter to receive that which they voluntarily presented ; for if I had taken it in the nature of a corrupt bribe, I knew it could not be concealed, because it must needs be put to account to the three several companies.’ (Spedding, ‘Letters,’ VII. 259.)

P. 83, l. 34. **Insists so strongly on the publicity.**—Every word of the confession referring to this business is given in the preceding note. The reader can judge for himself how far Macaulay is justified in saying that Bacon insisted strongly on the publicity.

P. 84, l. 7. **Under such circumstances.**—The ‘New English Dictionary’ says, ‘Mere situation is expressed by “*in* the circumstances ;” action affected is performed “*under* the circumstances.”’ The distinction is not very clear, and the passages cited do not make it clearer. ‘Every hypocrite . . . *under* the same circumstances would have invariably treated him with the same barbarity’ (South). ‘He found himself *in* circumstances to which he was unequal’ (Froude). ‘The desire to obtain money will, *under* certain circumstances, stimulate industry’ (Ruskin).

Macaulay sometimes uses 'in the circumstances,' and sometimes 'under the circumstances,' where there is no apparent difference in meaning. In the first article on Pitt as published in the *Review*, 'under the circumstances' occurs twice; in the reprinted Essay he altered one to 'in the circumstances.' (See my edition, p. 97.)

P. 84, l. 34. **Quid pro quo.**—Literally, 'what for what.' In law it is the mutual consideration and reciprocal performance of both parties to a contract, as the giving of one thing of value for another of the like.

P. 85, l. 15. **Beaumarchais.**—Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais (1732–1799) was the son of a watchmaker, and early showed that he inherited more than the parental skill by inventing an escapement. He possessed rare audacity and wit, and lived a life full of adventures. In 1770 he was made party to a law-suit in which both his honour and a good deal of his fortune were involved. The court decided in his favour, but his adversary appealed to the Parliament of Paris. The 'reporter' for this court was Goezman. He had married a young wife who used to say, 'It would be impossible to live decently with what we get, but we know the art of plucking the fowl without making it cry out.' Beaumarchais appeared to be a fowl worth plucking, and through a bookseller named Lejay she obtained a hundred louis in gold and a watch worth as much. Not satisfied with this, she asked for fifteen louis more to give her husband's secretary. Beaumarchais obtained an audience with Goezman, who two days later decided against him. Madame thereupon returned the watch and the hundred louis, but kept the fifteen. Beaumarchais claimed the return of the smaller sum, but she denied receiving it, and her husband determined to crush the impudent suitor with all the weight of the parliament. Beaumarchais, on his part, determined to bring public opinion to bear, and wrote a series of 'Mémoires judiciaires contre les sieurs Goezman,' &c., which set all Europe reading and laughing. The parliament pronounced Goezman *hors de cour* (a sentence which implied his resignation), ordered Madame Goezman to return the fifteen louis, and condemned her and Beaumarchais to *blâme*—a deprivation of civil rights. Soon afterwards Beaumarchais was employed in a mission by the King, and his deprivation was cancelled. In 1775 he wrote 'Le Barbier de Séville,' and in 1784, 'Le Mariage de Figaro.'

There is hardly any parallel between Goezman and Bacon. Goezman received a present *pendente lite* and gave an unjust decision. Of Bacon's many gifts, few were made *pendente lite*, and of his thousands of decisions it is hard to prove that one was intentionally unjust.

P. 86, l. 6. **He was . . . sent to the Tower.**—It will be remembered that sentence was pronounced on May 3. Macaulay accepts Montagu's statement that Bacon was sent to the Tower on May 31, and released in two days. The authorities, however, do not exactly agree, and all that we know for certain is that he was in the Tower on May 31, and out on June 4. (Spedding, 'Letters,' VII. 280.)

P. 86, l. 8. **Soon after.**—From the Tower Bacon went not to his own country house, but to Sir John Vaughan's house at Fulham. On June 20

he wrote to Buckingham, 'I have petitioned his Majesty to give me leave to stay at London till the last of July,' but the petition could not have been granted, as Bacon wrote again to Buckingham on the 22nd, 'I perceive . . . his Majesty's inclination that I should go first to Gorham-bury. . . Wherefore I purpose, God willing, to go thither forthwith'—which he did the next day. (Spedding, 'Letters,' VII. 292.)

P. 86, l. 9. **His fine was speedily released.**—A fine to the Crown gave the Crown the first claim on a man's goods. On September 20, 1621, the King consented to make an assignment of the fine to persons nominated by Bacon, thus not only forbearing to exact it but making it serve as a protection against his other creditors. On the same day the King granted him a 'Coronation pardon,' that is a discharge from all past offences, 'with an exception, nevertheless, of the sentence given in our High Court of Parliament.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' VII. 301.)

The pardon was, however, 'stayed at the seal' by Bacon's successor, Bishop Williams, but it ultimately passed (probably in December).

P. 86, l. 11. **The rest of his punishment was remitted.**—Macauley says that this was done in 1624, and Montagu, whom he follows, gives in support of this a command from the King to the Attorney-General, 'to prepare for our signature a bill containing a pardon in due form of the whole sentence.' (ccccxxvii.) Notwithstanding, it is certain that full remission was never made. Bacon writes to the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in January, 1625, asking him to persuade the Duke of Buckingham 'to procure him a pardon of the King of the whole sentence. My writ for Parliament I have now had twice before the time and that without any express restraint not to use it. It is true that I shall not be able in respect to my health to attend in Parliament. . . Time hath turned envy to pity, and I have had a long cleansing week of five years' expiation and more' [not quite five years]. He mentions that Somerset and others have had their pardons. 'I hope that I shall not deserve to be the only outcast.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' VII. 548.)

The Parliament which met in February proceeded to the impeachment of Buckingham, and neither he nor the King could then attend to the petition of Bacon. He died on April 9; hence it is certain that his full pardon was never granted.

P. 86, l. 15. **Allowed him a pension.**—The language of the Essay is ambiguous. Though Macauley does not explicitly state, he leaves the impression that the pension of twelve hundred a year was given after the pardon. Writing to the King on September 6, 1621, Bacon mentions his seventeen years of service, and says that, 'Of late your Majesty was graciously pleased to bestow upon me a pension of twelve hundred pounds for a few years.' The 'few years' were twelve, but there is abundant evidence that the pension was not paid regularly, and that it was bestowed before Bacon's disgrace.

P. 86, l. 30. **Go out in snuff.**—The stories about the 'feathers,' and the 'snuff' are taken by Macauley (with a little garnish) from Montagu (cccx.), but Montagu does not remember the authority for the

one, and the authority for the other is not worth much. Faith may therefore doubt and scepticism will disbelieve both stories.

P. 86, l. 36. **His wife's conduct.**—Bacon in the earlier part of his will (signed on December 19, 1625) makes various liberal bequests to his wife, but in the last paragraph he says, 'Whatever I have given, granted, confirmed or appointed to my wife in the former part of my will I do now for just and great causes utterly revoke and make void and leave her to her right only.' What these 'just and great causes' were, nobody knows, or can even guess.

P. 87, l. 11. **Says Ben Jonson.**—In 'Timber or Discoveries' (De Augmentis Scientiarum: Julius Cæsar: Lord St. Alban) (ed Gifford, 749). Macaulay, quoting not directly from Jonson's works, omits the last sentence in Montagu's extract (ccccxxv.): 'Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him *as knowing no accident can do harm to virtue*, but rather help to make it manifest.'

P. 87, l. 24. **Commenced a Digest.**—Bacon did not begin to make this; he only addressed 'An offer to the King of a Digest to be made of the Laws of England.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' VII. 358.)

P. 87, l. 25. **A History of England.**—It is correct to say that Bacon began a history of England under the Princes of the House of Tudor. All that he finished was the reign of Henry VII.

P. 87, l. 26. **A Natural History.**—'Sylva Sylvarum.'

P. 87, l. 26. **A Philosophical Romance.**—'New Atlantis.'

P. 87, l. 31. **Collection of jests.**—Apophthegms, New and Old. Macaulay follows Montagu in saying that these were 'the production as a recreation in sickness of a morning's dictation' (ccccxxviii). I do not know any authority for saying that they were a morning's work: Bacon in the preface only says that they were collected 'for my recreation in my sickness.' Macaulay is wrong in calling them jests.

P. 88, l. 1. **The spring of the year 1626.**—About the end of March.

P. 88, l. 6. **The Earl of Arundel.**—Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel and Surrey (1586–1646).

P. 88, l. 12. **Easter Day.**—April 9.

P. 88, l. 15. **With fingers which . . . could not steadily hold a pen.**—It is perfectly clear from the letter itself that Bacon did not hold the pen at all, but dictated. He says: 'I know how unfit it is for me to write to your Lordship with any other hand but my own, but in troth my fingers are so disjointed with this fit of sickness that I cannot steadily hold a pen.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' VII. 550.)

P. 88, l. 35. **The next age.**—Should be 'the next ages.'

P. 89, l. 8. **Finis . . . est.**—The end of the sciences has not as yet been well placed (no one has laid down the real end of the sciences).

P. 89, l. 10. **Omnium . . . consistit.**—Spedding, 'Works,' I. 462. The corresponding passage in the 'Advancement' is 'The greatest error of all the rest is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge.' (I. v. 11.)

P. 89, l. 11. **Nec ipsa meta . . . defixa.**—Nor have men yet placed or fixed the goal itself. (Spedding, 'Works,' I. 188.)

P. 89, l. 22. **Commodis humanis inservire.**—To advance human interests. (Spedding, 'Works,' I. 714.)

P. 89, l. 22. **Efficaciter . . . incommoda.**—Operate effectively to relieve the inconveniences of man's estate.

P. 89, l. 24. **Dotare . . . copiis.**—To endow human life with new discoveries and powers. (Spedding, 'Works,' I. 188.)

P. 89, l. 25. **Genus . . . dotare.**—To endow the human race with new works and powers forthwith.

P. 90, l. 5. **Posidonius.**—A Greek philosopher born in Syria about 135 B.C. He was the most scientific and learned among the later Stoics. After living for some time at Rhodes he came to Rome, where, as Macaulay says, he enjoyed the friendship of Pompey and Cicero. He is said to have constructed a kind of sphere with which he exhibited the apparent motions of the sun, moon, and planets round the earth.

P. 90, l. 11. **Seneca.**—The tutor, the friend and the victim of Nero, and next to Cicero the most famous of the philosophical writers of Rome. He was essentially a follower of the Stoics, but he directed his attention less to abstract speculation than to practical wisdom.

P. 90, l. 11. **Seneca vehemently disclaims.**—The 90th Epistle, from which Macaulay quotes, begins with a statement that life is the gift of the immortal gods, but a good life the gift of philosophy. After agreeing with the opinion of Posidonius that wise men bare rule in the golden age, Seneca disagreed with his award of glory to the art of building. 'What sayest thou? Hath philosophy taught men to have a lock and key, and what else was it that gave a sign to covetousness? Hath philosophy with so great peril of the inhabitants hung up these tops of houses that hang over us? . . . Believe that age was happy which was before builders of houses were. . . . Thatch covered free men; bondage inhabiteth under marble and gold. In that I also disagree from Posidonius because he judgeth that working-tools were devised by wise men. . . Cold is intolerable for a naked body. What therefore? What, cannot the skins of wild beasts and of other creatures enough and abundantly defend us from cold? . . . Notwithstanding, there is need of a thicker shade to drive back the heat of the summer sun. What therefore hath not antiquity hidden many places which, either by injury of time or by some other chance, have retired into the form of a den? . . . Nature sufficeth to that it requireth. Riot hath revolted from nature, which continually inciteth itself and increaseth in many ages and helpeth vices with wit. First it began to desire superfluous, then contrary, things; last of all it sold the mind to

the body and commanded it to serve the lusts thereof. . . . All these things indeed [ploughs, ships, mills, ovens] saith he [Posidonius] did a wise man find forth . . . yet they were invented by none other than by such as at this day take charge of them.' ('The Workes of Lucius Annaeus Seneca, both morall and naturall.' Translated by Tho. Lodge, D. in Physicke, 1614, p. 374.)

How far this is 'vehement' disclaiming the reader must judge. Macaulay does not include in one common condemnation the *philosophes* of the eighteenth century because Rousseau expresses views similar to Seneca's of the state of man

'Ere the base laws of servitude began,
When wild in woods the noble savage ran.'

P. 90, l. 32. **Non est . . . opifer.**—It [philosophy] is not, I say, the maker of instruments for necessary uses.

P. 91, l. 5. **On anger.**—Seneca wrote in three books a work called 'De Ira.'

P. 91, l. 14. **Democritus.**—'The laughing philosopher,' born about 460 B.C. He is said to have lived over a hundred years, and to have left behind him many works on ethics, physics, mathematics, astronomy, &c., but only scanty fragments of them are extant. He enunciated what was known as an atomic theory.

'Perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat
Democritus.' (Juvenal, 'Satires,' X. 33-4.)

(With perpetual laughter Democritus used to agitate his lungs.)

'Democritus himself is said to have found out the arch of stone. . . . I say this is false. For it is needful that before Democritus both bridges and gates [archways] were,' and therefore arches must be anterior to him. (Lodge, 'Seneca,' 378.)

This in Macaulayese is labouring 'to clear Democritus from the disgraceful imputation of having made the first arch.'

P. 91, l. 15. **Anacharsis.**—A Scythian philosopher. He obtained from his King an embassy to Athens, where he arrived in 592 B.C. Desiring the acquaintance of Solon, he sent in word that a Scythian was at the door requesting his friendship. Solon answered that friends were best made at home. 'Then,' said Anacharsis, 'let Solon, who is at home, make me his friend.' Strabo says that Anacharsis invented not only the potter's wheel, but the balance and the anchor.

'I do not contend that Anacharsis was the author of this thing [the potter's wheel]; and if he was, a wise man indeed invented it, but not as being a wise man; as wise men do many things as they be men, not as they be wise men. Suppose that a wise man be exceeding swift he will excel all in running as he swift not as he is wise.' (Id.)

P. 91, l. 21. **The business of a philosopher.**—Macaulay seems to be as prejudiced against Seneca as against Bacon himself. He neglects to say that the authority for all the charges which he makes against the philosopher is Publius Sullius, a man whom Tacitus, in reporting the

charges, describes as 'notoriously venal.' 'By what precepts of wisdom, what principles of philosophy,' asks Suilius, 'did Seneca during four years of imperial favour amass a fortune of three hundred thousand great sestercies? At Rome testaments and the childless were caught in his toils; Italy and the provinces were drained by his exorbitant usury.' ('Annales,' XIII. xlii.).

P. 91, l. 27. **The murder of a mother.**—The murder of Agrippina by her son Nero.

P. 91, l. 33. **Ego certe, &c.**—'For myself . . . I may truly say that both in this present work and in those which I intend to publish hereafter, I often advisedly and deliberately throw aside the dignity of my name and wit (if such thing be) in my endeavour to advance human interests; and being one that should properly, perhaps, be an architect in philosophy and the sciences, I turn common labourer, hodman, anything that is wanted; taking upon myself the burden and execution of many things which must needs be done and which others through an inborn pride shrink from and decline.' (Spedding, 'Works,' V. 4.)

Macaulay has already used one phrase from this passage (*dum commodis humanis inserviam*).

P. 92, l. 4. **Philanthropia.**—The only indication which we have of the date of the letter is a sentence in it, 'I wax now somewhat ancient: one and thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour-glass.' It must, therefore, have been written about 1592. It was addressed 'to my Lord Treasurer Burghley.' Bacon says, 'I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends: for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province. This, whether it be curiosity, or vain glory, or nature, or (if one take it favourably) *philanthropia*, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed.' (Spedding, 'Letters,' I. 109.)

'I take goodness in this sense,—the affecting of the weal of man, which is that the Grecians called *philanthropia*; and the word *humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. . . . This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity.' (Bacon, 'Essays,' xiii.: 'Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature.')

These two extracts make it clear that the Greek *φιλανθρωπία* had not then been adopted into English.

P. 92, l. 24. **Influence of Socrates.**—'The elder of the Greek philosophers, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Leucippus, Democritus . . . and the rest . . . more silently and severely and simply . . . betook themselves to the inquisition of truth. And therefore they were in my judgment more successful.' ('Novum Organum,' I. lxxi.)

'In early ages the Seven Wise Men as they were called (all except Thales) applied themselves to morals and politics; and in later times,

when Socrates had drawn philosophy from heaven to earth, moral philosophy became more fashionable than either and diverted the minds of men from the philosophy of nature.' (Id., I. lxxix.)

P. 93, l. 13. **To say with Bacon.**—'Of all signs there is none more certain or more noble than that taken from fruits. For fruits and works are as it were sponsors and sureties for the truth of philosophies. Now, from all these systems of the Greeks, and their ramifications through particular sciences, there can hardly after the lapse of so many years be adduced a single experiment which tends to relieve and benefit the condition of man, and which can with truth be referred to the speculations and theories of philosophy. And Celsius ingenuously and wisely owns as much, when he tells us that the experimental part of medicine was first discovered, and that afterwards men philosophised about it, and hunted for and assigned causes; and not by an inverse process that philosophy and the knowledge of causes led to the discovery and development of the experimental part. . . . Wherefore, as in religion we are warned to show our faith by works, so in philosophy by the same rule the system should be judged of by its fruits, and pronounced frivolous if it be barren; more especially if, in place of fruits of grape and olive, it bear thorns and briars of dispute and contention.' ('Novum Organum,' I. lxxiii.)

P. 93, l. 24. **Gran duol, &c.**

'Sore grief assailed
My heart at hearing this, for well I knew
Suspended in that limbo many a soul
Of mighty worth.'

(Cary's 'Dante,' Hell: Canto IV.)

P. 94, l. 5. **Academy.**—The academy was a public park near Athens, said to derive its name from the hero Academus. It was adorned with avenues of trees, statues, and altars. In its shady walks (the 'groves of Academe') Plato used to converse with his disciples and friends, and so the name of the meeting-place came to be used as a distinctive title of Plato's school of philosophy.

It was fittingly applied to the association formed at Florence in the middle of the fifteenth century for the discussion and the propagation of that philosophy. It was afterwards applied to the similar associations which were formed in other Italian towns for a more general study of the classics and cultivation of a good modern style. Richelieu borrowed it when he formed a body which was to be the final authority on questions of literature, and it was further extended to bodies like our Royal Academy of Arts. The transfer was easy to a place where literature and art were taught, and thus the term finally sank into a high-sounding name for a school. Lord Auchinleck spoke with scorn of his son James Boswell pinning himself 'to the tail of an ould dominie who kept a schule and cau'd it an academy.'

'In the suburbs of the city [of Athens] the Academy of the Platonists, the Lyceum of the Peripatetics, the Portico of the Stoics, and the

Garden of the Epicureans were planted with trees and decorated with statues; and the philosophers, instead of being immured in a cloister, delivered their instructions in spacious and pleasant walks which at different hours were consecrated to the exercises of the mind and body.' (Gibbon, 'Decline and Fall,' ed. Bohn, IV. 351.)

P. 94, l. 5. **The Portico.**—As the school of Plato is called the Academy from its place of meeting, the school of the Stoics is called the Portico or the Porch, its founder Zeno teaching in the Painted Porch in Athens (*σποά, stoa*, a porch, colonnade, row of pillars).

'So th' ancient Stoics in their Porch
With fierce dispute maintained their Church.'
(Butler, 'Hudibras,' II. ii. 15-16.)

P. 94, l. 6. **Cicero's incomparable diction.**—Cicero was a diligent student and lucid exponent of the Greek philosophy. Of his various works Macaulay was probably thinking of 'De Finibus' in which representatives of the two great schools, the Stoics and the Epicureans, express their views in his 'incomparable diction.'

P. 94, l. 8. **The surly centurion.**—'Cur quis non prandeat, hoc est?' (Is it this for which one should go without his dinner?) is part of l. 85 of the Third Satire of Persius. A Stoic is denouncing idleness and luxury, and the poet imagines *aliquis de gente hircosa centurionum* (some one of the evil-smelling race of centurions) asking whether one should go dinnerless for the things which the Stoic praised.

P. 94, l. 18. **Disputes of the . . . Lilliputians and . . . Blefuscudians.**—The emperor of Lilliput happening to cut his fingers by breaking an egg according to the ancient practice published an edict, commanding all persons, upon great penalties, to break the smaller end of their eggs. The neighbouring Blefuscudians retained the old method, and their emperor fomented the discontent of the heretical Little-endians of Lilliput. [Swift is ridiculing the disputes between the Protestants and Roman Catholics in England, which were encouraged by the King of France.]

P. 94, l. 30. **Favorinus.**—A Platonic philosopher who flourished under Trajan and Hadrian; a friend of Plutarch. Only fragments of his works remain.

P. 95, l. 10. **Obscure questions.**—There is nothing in the lofty and dignified sentiments expressed in the Preface to Book III. of Seneca's 'Natural Questions' of which Macaulay's words can be recognised as even a paraphrase. The following is the passage which comes nearest: 'What think we to be the principal thing in human life? It is not to have covered the back of the ocean with our ships, nor to have settled our confines on the shores of the Red Sea, nor yet for want of land to have sought the unknown isles in foraging and spoiling the whole world; but it is to have beheld all these things in thought, to have conquered our vices (which is the greatest victory of all others).' (Lodge's 'Seneca,' 806.)

P. 95, l. 14. **One sect.**—The Epicureans. They agreed with their founder, Epicurus (342–268 B.C.) that the end of philosophy was to promote the happiness of man, and that this end can be best attained by the pursuit of pleasure. By pleasure they did not mean profligacy, but a state in which the body was free from pain and the mind from disturbance. They differed from the ordinary man who seeks only the enjoyment of the moment; they knew how to forgo present enjoyments which would cause future discomfort or vexation. They believed in the existence of gods, but practically they were atheists, as they maintained that the world was formed by chance, and the gods dwelt apart, caring neither for the earth nor its inhabitants.

P. 95, l. 23. **Their great poet.**—Lucretius.

P. 95. ll. 26, 27. **Ad victum . . . parata.**—‘De Natura Rerum,’ VI. 9, 10.

‘For he [Epicurus] observing some that could supply
Contented nature’s thrifty luxury.’ (Creech.)

P. 95, l. 32. **The Stoic.**—The Stoics received their name, as already stated, from their meeting-place, the Stoa or Porch. Their founder was Zeno, who flourished somewhere between 350 and 250 B.C. He taught that the highest duty of the philosopher was to practise virtue. For the doing of this, knowledge was necessary, and the only knowledge which could be trusted was that based on sensation. The Stoics were therefore materialists. They were also fatalists. The world was governed by unchanging law, and what might happen to individuals was uncertain. Providence cared only for the fabric of the universe. Though the virtuous might have to suffer, no real evil happened to them, and no real good to the vicious. Fortified with this thought they trained themselves to be proudly independent of externals, to bear with indifference whatever trials might beset them, and thus to secure undisturbed peace of mind.

P. 96, l. 5. **Those noble lines.**—The first lines of Book III. of Lucretius’ ‘De Natura Rerum.’

Thee [Epicurus], who hast light from ‘midst thick darkness
brought,
And first’s life’s benefits and pleasures taught,
[I strictly trace].’ (Creech.)

P. 96, l. 11. **The Pantheon.**—A temple at Rome supposed (wrongly) to be dedicated to the worship of all the gods. It was built by Agrippa in 27 B.C., and its original object is unknown.

P. 96, l. 17. **Pyrrho.**—A Greek philosopher (born about 365 B.C.), the founder of the Sceptics.

P. 96, l. 17. **Carneades.**—A philosopher of Cyrene in North Africa. He was a pupil of Diogenes the Stoic, and with him went on an embassy to Rome in 155 B.C. Himself a Stoic, he was the founder of the Third or New Academy.

P. 96, l. 22. **Sowing of the wind.**—‘They have sown the wind and they shall reap the whirlwind.’ (Hosea, VIII. 7.)

P. 97, l. 2. **Petrarch.**—A celebrated Italian poet (1304–1374).

P. 97, l. 2. **Boccaccio.**—A celebrated Italian writer (1313–1375), author of the ‘Decameron.’

P. 7, l. 3. **Nicholas V.**—Pope from 1447 to 1455. (See quotation from Gibbon, note to p. 97, l. 37.)

P. 97, l. 3. **Cosmo de’ Medici** (1389–1464).—A wealthy and patriotic citizen of Florence who employed his wealth in promoting learning, particularly the study of the Greek language and the Platonic philosophy. He collected a vast number of manuscripts from the East.

P. 97, l. 6. **George of Trebisond** (1396?–1485?)—He was born in the island of Crete of a family which originally came from Trebisond. He was for some time professor of Greek at Vicenza, but afterwards was employed at Rome in translations from the classics.

P. 97, l. 7. **Marsilio Ficino** (1433–1499).—A Florentine who was made president of an Academy formed by Cosmo de’ Medici for the cultivation of the Platonic philosophy. He published a complete translation of Plato into Latin.

P. 97, l. 19. **Next the seat of God.**—Macaulay used to say that if every copy of ‘Paradise Lost’ were destroyed he could reproduce the text from memory. It is to be hoped that the reproduction would have been more accurate than in the passage misquoted in the text. Milton speaks of the fallen angels who

‘Durst fix

Their seats long after next the seat of God;’

durst do other things through seven lines,

‘And with their darkness durst affront His light.’

(‘Paradise Lost,’ l. 382–391.)

P. 97, l. 30. **The Florentine sect of Platonists.**—‘The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 drove a few Greeks to Italy. One of these, Gemistus Pletho, an enthusiastic votary of the Platonic theories in metaphysics and Natural Theology, communicated part of his own zeal to Cosmo de’ Medici, and from that time the citizens of Florence formed a scheme of establishing an Academy of learned men to discuss and propagate the Platonic system. A treatise by Pletho inveighing without measure against Aristotle and his school roused the Aristotelians, and as furious a controversy raged between the two sects as if they had been discussing religion. George of Trebisond distinguished himself by his invective against the Platonists, and Pope Nicholas V. permitted the works of Aristotle to be read in the Universities. Cosmo de’ Medici selected Marcilio Ficino, a youth of great promise, to be

educated in the mysteries of Platonism, that he might become the chief of the new Academy.' (Hallam, 'Literature of Europe,' III., section 2.)

P. 97, l. 33. **The Peripatetic philosophy.**—Aristotle taught in the shady walks of the Athenian Gymnasium, called the Lyceum (Λύκειον) from an epithet of Apollo, whose temple was near. Hence his school is called the Lyceum, as Plato's is called the Academy, and that of the Stoics the Portico or Porch. It being the habit of Aristotle to walk about with his disciples they were called the Peripatetics (Περιπατητικός, *peripatētikos*, given to walking about, especially when teaching).

It is curious to note that as *Academy* is with us applied to a school, *Gymnasium* (*Gymnase*) is in Germany and *Lyceum* (*Lycée*) in France.

P. 97, l. 37. **Gibbon has justly remarked.**—'After a long oblivion Plato was revived in Italy by a venerable Greek [Pletho] who taught in the house of Cosmo of Medicis. . . . If the Platonists, with blind devotion, adored the visions and errors of their divine master, their enthusiasm might correct the dry dogmatic method of the Peripatetic school. So equal yet so opposite are the merits of Plato and Aristotle that they may be balanced in endless controversy; but some spark of freedom may be produced by the collision of adverse servitude. [It will be seen that Macaulay has not quoted verbally.] The modern Greeks were divided between two sects; with more fury than skill they fought under the banner of their leaders. . . . The fame of Nicholas V. has not been adequate to his merits. From a plebeian origin he raised himself by his virtue and learning; the character of the man prevailed over the interest of the pope. . . . He had been the friend of the most eminent scholars of the age; he became their patron; and such was the humility of his manners that the change was scarcely discernible either to them or to himself. . . . Cosmo of Medicis was the father of a line of princes whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning; his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind . . . and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel.' (Gibbon, 'Decline and Fall,' VII. 254.)

P. 98, l. 6. **The Vatican.**—The Papacy, from the palace of the Pope at Rome.

P. 98, l. 9. **The schism.**—The Protestant schism.

P. 98, l. 11. **Nullò . . . pretio.**—Philosophy was held in no esteem among the Lutherans.

P. 98, l. 15. **Text.**—'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world.' (Col. ii. 8.)

P. 98, l. 20. **Zwingle . . . Calvin.**—Leaders of the Reformation.

P. 98, l. 23. **Ramus.**—Peter Ramus (Pierre la Ramée) a distinguished French scholar (1502?–1572). In his youth poverty compelled him to accept a place as servant in the College de Navarre, Paris, but at night

he used to study so effectively that in three years and a half he was received Master of Arts. He vigorously attacked the doctrines of Aristotle, and in 1543 published 'Institutiones Dialecticæ' and 'Animadversiones in dialecticam Aristotelis,' which excited much trouble in the University of Paris. He was treated as an impious sedition-monger, his teaching was suppressed, and his books forbidden. In 1551 the Cardinal de Lorraine annulled his sentence and obtained for Ramus the Chair of Philosophy and Elocution at the Collège de France. His persecutors, however, allowed him no rest there, and even imputed to him as a crime his pronounciation of *quisquis* and *quanquam*. In 1567 he developed Huguenot opinions and joined the Prince de Condé. He was killed in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, his supposed murderer being another professor of the Collège de France.

P. 98, l. 34. **Graces of style.**—'Martin Luther, conducted (no doubt) by an higher providence, but in discourse of reason, finding what a province he had undertaken against the Bishop of Rome and the degenerate traditions of the church, and finding his own solitude, being no ways aided by the opinions of his own time, was enforced to awake all antiquity, and to call former times to his succours to make a party against the present time: so that the ancient authors, both in divinity and in humanity, which had long time slept in libraries, began generally to be read and revolved. This by consequence did draw on a necessity of a more exquisite travail in the languages original, wherein those authors did write, for the better understanding of those authors, and the better advantage of pressing and applying their words. And thereof grew again a delight in their manner of style and phrase, and an admiration of that kind of writing; which was much furthered and precipitated by the enmity and opposition that the propounders of those primitive but seeming new opinions had against the schoolmen; who were generally of the contrary part, and whose writings were altogether in a differing style and form; taking liberty to coin and frame new terms of art to express their own sense, and to avoid circuit of speech, without regard to the pureness, pleasantness, and (as I may call it) lawfulness of the phrase or word. And again, because the great labour then was with the people . . . for the winning and persuading of them, there grew of necessity in chief price and request eloquence and variety of discourse, as the fittest and forciblest access into the capacity of the vulgar sort: so that these four causes concurring, the admiration of ancient authors, the hate of the schoolmen, the exact study of languages, and the efficacy of preaching, did bring in an affectionate study of eloquence and copie [plenty, fluency] of speech, which then began to flourish. This grew speedily to an excess; for men began to hunt more after words than matter; more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment.' ('Advancement of Learning,' I. iv. 2.)

P. 98, l. 36. **The Augustan age.**—The age of the Roman Emperor Augustus Cæsar, when Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy, Tibullus, Propertius, and many other great writers flourished.

P. 99, l. 1. **Respondents and opponents.**—The technical terms for those who in the schools (and in academical discussions generally) proposed and opposed theological and philosophical theses.

P. 99, ll. 14–17. **Accedebat . . . Scholasticos. Scholasticorum . . . barbara.**—Both these sentences occur in the same paragraph of the ‘De Augmentis’ (Spedding, ‘Works,’ I. 451), which is considerably more compact than the corresponding part of the ‘Advancement of Learning.’ The first occurs in the passage quoted under ‘graces of style,’ above ‘furthered and precipitated . . . schoolmen.’ The second follows the English more closely—‘Then grew the learning of the schoolmen to be utterly despised as barbarous.’ (I. iv. 2.)

P. 99, l. 19. **Not of Robespierre, but of Bonaparte.**—The part not of destruction but of construction.

P. 99, l. 32. **Meditor, &c.**—I meditate such a restoration of philosophy as shall have nothing vain or abstract, and shall promote better conditions for human life.

P. 100, l. 11. **Arithmetic.**—Plato’s ‘Republic’ is written in the form of conversations. The interlocutors are discussing the right preparation for the ‘Guardians,’ the leading soldiers and administrators of a nation, and this is what they say concerning arithmetic: ‘Think a little and you will see that what has preceded will supply the answer; for if simple unity, and that only, can be adequately perceived by the sight or by any other sense, then, as we were saying in the case of the fingers, there will be nothing to attract towards being; but when there is always some contradiction present and one is the reverse of one and involves the conception of plurality, then thought begins to be aroused within, and the soul perplexed and wanting to arrive at a decision asks, “What is absolute unity?” And this is the way in which the study of the one has a power of drawing and converting the mind to the contemplation of true being.’

‘And surely,’ he said, ‘this occurs notably when we look at one, for the same thing is seen by us as one and as infinite in multitude?’

‘Yes,’ I said; ‘and this being true of one must be equally true of all number?’

‘Certainly.’

‘And all arithmetic and calculation have to do with number?’

‘Yes.’

‘And they are conductors to truth?’

‘Yes, in an eminent degree.’

‘Then this is the sort of knowledge of which we are in search, having a double use, military and philosophical; for the man of war must learn the art of number that he may know how to array his troops, and the philosopher also, because he has to rise out of the sea of change and lay hold of true being, if he would be an arithmetician.’

‘That is true.’

‘And our guardian is both warrior and philosopher?’

‘Certainly.’

‘Then this is a kind of knowledge which legislation may fitly prescribe; and we must endeavour to persuade the principal men of our State to go and learn arithmetic, not as amateurs, but they must carry on the study until they see the nature of numbers in the mind only; nor again, in the spirit of merchants or traders, with a view to buying or selling, but for the sake of their military use, and of the *sóul* herself; and because this will be the easiest way for her to pass from becoming to truth and being.’

‘That is excellent,’ he said.

‘Yes,’ I said; ‘and now having spoken of it, I must add how charming the science is! and in how many ways it conduces to our desired end, if pursued in the spirit of a philosopher, and not of a shopkeeper.’

‘How do you mean?’

‘I mean, as I was saying, that arithmetic has a very great and elevating effect, compelling the soul to reason about abstract number, and rebelling against the introduction of visible or tangible objects into the argument. You know how steadily the masters of the art repel and ridicule any one who attempts to divide absolute unity when he is calculating, and if you divide, they multiply, taking care that one shall continue one, and not become lost in fractions.’

‘That is very true.’

‘Now, supposing a person were to say to them: “O my friends, what are these wonderful numbers about which you are reasoning, in which, as you say, there is a unity such as you require, and each unit is equal, invariable, indivisible?”—what would they answer?’

‘They would answer, as I suppose, that they were speaking of those numbers which are only realised in thought.’

‘Then you see that this knowledge may be truly called necessary, necessitating as it does the use of the pure intelligence in the attainment of pure truth?’ (Plato’s ‘Republic,’ VII., Jowett’s translation.)

It will be seen that Plato does not decry the study of arithmetic even for utilitarian ends. He simply draws a comparison on which all educators insist between practical use and mental development.

P. 100, l. 23. **Bacon . . . valued this branch.**—And so far as Bacon did this he was wrong. The mathematician may be as good at figures as the accountant, but in rising from the manipulation of concrete numbers to the contemplation of pure abstraction he has made the study doubly valuable to himself.

P. 100, l. 26. **He speaks with scorn.**—Macaulay gives a fairly accurate summary of Bacon’s views. The chapter is too long to quote, and would not be intelligible without a still longer explanation of Bacon’s division of the sciences.

P. 100, l. 34. **The study of mathematics.** ‘Let this then be made one of our subjects of education. And next, shall we inquire whether the kindred science also concerns us?’

‘You mean geometry?’

‘Yes.’

‘Certainly,’ he said; ‘that part of geometry which relates to war is clearly our concern; for in pitching a camp, or taking up a position, or closing or extending the lines of an army, or any other military manœuvre, whether in actual battle or on a march, there will be a great difference in a general, according as he is or is not a geometrician.’

‘Yes,’ I said, ‘but for that purpose a very little of either geometry or calculation will be enough; the question is rather of the higher and greater part of geometry, whether that tends towards the great end—I mean towards the vision of the idea of good; and thither, as I was saying, all things tend which compel the soul to turn her gaze towards that place, where is the full perfection of being, of which she ought by all means to attain the vision.’

‘True,’ he said.

‘Then if geometry compels to view being, it concerns us; if becoming only, it does not concern us?’

‘Yes, that is what we assert.’

‘Nevertheless, such a conception of the science is in flat contradiction to the ordinary language of geometers, as will hardly be denied by those who have any acquaintance with their study: for they speak of squaring and applying and adding, having in view use only, and absurdly confuse the necessities of geometry with those of daily life; whereas knowledge is the real object of the whole science.’

‘Certainly,’ he said.

‘Then must not a further admission be made?’

‘What admission?’

‘The admission that this knowledge at which geometry aims is of the eternal, and not of the perishing and transient.’

‘That,’ he replied, ‘may be readily allowed, and is true.’

‘Then, my noble friend, geometry will draw the soul towards truth and create the spirit of philosophy, and raise up that which is now unhappily allowed to fall down.’ (Plato’s ‘Republic,’ VII., Jowett’s translation).

It is said (though on doubtful authority) that an inscription (*μηδὲς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσέρτω*) over the portal of the Academy forbade the entrance of anyone ignorant of geometry.

P. 101, l. 4. **If we are to believe Plutarch.**—Plutarch, after describing the manner in which Marcellus’ attack on Syracuse was repelled by the energies of Archimedes, proceeds: ‘The first that turned their thoughts to mathematics, a branch of knowledge which came afterwards to be so much admired, were Eudoxus and Archytas, who thus gave a variety and an agreeable turn to geometry, and confirmed certain problems, by sensible experiments and the use of instruments, which could not be demonstrated in the way of theorem. . . . But when Plato inveighed against them with great indignation as corrupting and debasing the excellence of geometry by making use of matter which requires much manual labour and is the object of servile trades, then mathematics

were separated from geometry, and being for a long time despised by the philosopher were considered as a branch of the military art.'

P. 101, l. 17. **Archimedes**.—Plutarch, after saying that Marcellus had approached the walls of Syracuse with a prodigious machine, proceeds: 'But Archimedes despised all this and confided in the superiority of his engines, though he did not think the inventing of them an object worthy of his serious study, but only reckoned them among the amusements of geometry. Nor had he gone so far but at the pressing instance of king Hiero, who entreated him to turn his art from abstracted notions to matters of sense, and to make his reasonings more intelligible to the generality of mankind, applying them to the uses of common life.'

P. 101, l. 32. **Advantages . . . mixed mathematics**.—In the 'Advancement of Learning' Bacon says: 'In the mathematics I can report no deficiency except it be that men do not sufficiently understand the excellent use of the pure mathematics, in that they do remedy and cure many defects in the wit and faculties intellectual. For if the wit be too dull, they sharpen it; if too wandering, they fix it; if too inherent in the sense, they abstract it. So that as tennis is a game of no use in itself, but of great use in respect it maketh a quick eye, and a body ready to put itself into all postures; so in the mathematics, that use which is collateral and intervenient is no less worthy than that which is principal and intended.' (II. viii. 2.)

P. 102, l. 9. **Delicias et fastum mathematicorum**.—'The daintiness and pride of mathematicians.' This phrase occurs in Book III., chap. vi., already quoted by Macaulay.

P. 102, l. 10. **The well-being of the human race**.—'Regarding as I do not only truth and order but also the advantage and convenience of mankind (Nobis tamen qui non tantum veritati et ordini, verum etiam usui et commodis hominum consulimus) I have thought it better to designate mathematics seeing that they are of so much importance both in physics and metaphysics and mechanics and magic as appendices and auxiliaries to them all.' ('De Augmentis,' III. vi.)

P. 103, ll. 10, 11. **Socrates . . . Glaucon**.—These are two of the supposed interlocutors in the dialogues in Plato's 'Republic.' This is the conversation respecting astronomy:

'And suppose we make astronomy the third—what do you say?'

'I am strongly inclined to it,' he said; 'the observation of the seasons and of months and years is quite essential to husbandry and navigation, and not less essential to military tactics.'

'I am amused,' I said, 'at your fear of the world, which makes you guard against the appearance of insisting upon useless studies; and I quite admit the difficulty of believing that in every man there is an eye of the soul which, when by other pursuits lost and dimmed, is by these purified and re-illuminated; and is more precious far than ten thousand bodily eyes, for by this alone is truth seen. . . . And now, Socrates, as you rebuked the vulgar manner in which I praised astronomy before

my praise shall be more worthy of your own spirit. For everyone, as I think, must feel that astronomy compels the soul to look upwards, and leads us from this world to another.'

'I am an exception then, for I should rather say that those who elevate astronomy into philosophy make us look downwards and not upwards.'

'What do you mean?' he asked.

'You,' I replied, 'have in your mind a sublime conception of how we know the things above. And I dare say that if a person were to throw his head back and study the fretted ceiling, you would still think that his mind was the percipient, and not his eyes. And you are very likely right, and I am a simpleton: but, in my opinion, that knowledge only which is of being and of the unseen can make the soul look upwards, and whether a man gapes at the heavens or blinks on the ground, seeking to learn some particular of sense, I would deny that he can learn, for nothing of that sort is matter of science; his soul is looking, not upwards, but downwards, whether his way to knowledge is by water or by land, in whichever element he may lie on his back and float.'

'I acknowledge,' he said, 'the justice of your rebuke. Still, I should like to ascertain how astronomy can be learned in any manner more conducive to that knowledge of which we speak?'

I answered: 'The starry heaven which we behold is wrought upon a visible ground, and therefore, although the fairest and most perfect of visible things, must necessarily be deemed inferior far to the true motions of absolute swiftness and absolute slowness, which are relative to each other, and carry with them that which is contained in them, in the true number and in every true figure. Now, these are to be apprehended by reason and intelligence but not by sight.'

'True,' he replied.

'The spangled heavens should be used as a pattern and with a view to that higher knowledge; their beauty is like the beauty of figures or pictures wrought by the hand of Daedalus, or some other great artist, which we may chance to behold; any geometrician who saw them would appreciate the exquisiteness of their workmanship, but he would never dream of thinking that in them he could find the true equal or the true double, or the truth of any other proportion.'

'No,' he said, 'to think so would be ridiculous.'

'And will not a true astronomer have the same feeling when he looks at the movements of the stars? Will he not think that heaven and the things in heaven are framed by the Creator in the most perfect manner? But when he reflects that the proportions of night and day, or of both to the month, or of the month to the year, or of the other stars to these and to one another, are of the visible and material, he will never fall into the error of supposing that they are eternal and liable to no deviation—that would be monstrous; he will rather seek in every possible way to discover the truth of them.'

'I quite agree now that you tell me so.'

'Then,' I said, 'in astronomy, as in geometry, we should use problems, and let the heavens alone if we desire to have a real knowledge of the

science, and to train the reasoning faculty by the aid of it.' (Plato's 'Republic,' VII., Jowett's translation.)

P. 103, l. 18. **As Cicero said.**—In his 'Brutus, or Remarks on Eminent Orators,' Cicero says, 'Who had a richer style than Plato? The philosophers tell us that if Jupiter himself were to speak in Greek he would speak like him.'

P. 103, l. 31. **The ox of Prometheus.**—'Astronomy offers to the human intellect a victim like that which Prometheus offered in deceit to Jupiter. Prometheus in the place of a real ox brought to the altar the hide of an ox of great size and beauty stuffed with straw and leaves and twigs. In like manner astronomy presents only the exterior of the heavenly bodies (I mean the number of the stars, their positions, motions and periods) as it were the hide of the heavens, beautiful indeed, and skilfully arranged into systems, but the interior (namely the physical reasons) is wanting; out of which (with the help of astronomical hypotheses) a theory might be devised which would not merely satisfy the phenomena (of which kind many might with a little ingenuity be contrived), but which would set forth the substance, motions, and influence of the heavenly bodies as they really are' (*quæ substantiam*, &c., as in footnote 2, p. 104). ('De Augmentis,' III. iv.)

P. 104, l. 4. **A living astronomy.**—'Wherefore this, the physical part of astronomy, I pronounce deficient, giving it the name of Living Astronomy, in distinction from that stuffed ox of Prometheus which was an ox in figure only.' (Id.)

P. 104, l. 11. **Go-cart.**—A kind of frame on small wheels. Children were enclosed in it that they might learn to walk.

'Young children who are tried in
Go-carts to keep their steps from sliding,
When members knit and legs grow stronger
Make use of such machine no longer.' (Prior.)

P. 104, l. 26. **An ancient king of Egypt.**—Thamuz. Letters 'preserve a solemn silence and have not a word to say for themselves. . . . Nobler far is the serious pursuit of the dialectician who finds a genial soil, and there with knowledge engrafts and sows words which are able to help themselves and him who planted them, and are not unfruitful but have in them seeds which may bear fruit in other natures nurtured in other ways . . . making the seed everlasting and the possessors happy to the utmost extent of human happiness.' (Jowett's 'Plato,' i. 614.)

P. 104, l. 28. **Quintilian**, or Quintilian (42 A.D. to 118?)—An eminent Roman rhetorician. His 'Institutiones Oratoriæ' is a most interesting treatise, incidentally throwing much light on Roman methods of education in the first century. The passage to which Macaulay refers is as follows: 'I find it said by Plato that the use of letters is a detriment to memory because, as he intimates, what we have committed

to writing we cease in some degree to guard and lose it through mere neglect.' ('Inst. Orat.' XI. ii. 9.)

P. 105, l. 8. **He says.**—In the chapter just quoted.

P. 105, l. 34. **Mythical authority.**—He tells mythical stories of *Æsculapius* (himself a somewhat mythical father of medicine), *Eurypylus*, and a certain *Herodicus*.

P. 106, l. 10. **The common Father.**—'... That ye may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.' (Matthew V. 45.)

P. 106, l. 19. **The Queen of Navarre's tales.**—Margaret De Valois (1492–1549) was the sister of Francis I. Her second husband was Henry D'Albret, king of Navarre, and she was therefore the grandmother of the great Henry IV. The tales to which Macaulay refers are contained in the 'Heptameron,' a collection similar in style to Boccaccio's 'Decameron.'

P. 106, l. 20. **Caput lupinum.**—Literally a wolf head. 'Anciently an outlawed felon was said to have "caput lupinum" and might be knocked on the head like a wolf by anyone that should meet him, because having renounced all law he was to be dealt with as in a state of nature, when everyone that should find him might slay him' ('Blackstone,' IV. xxiv.)

P. 106, l. 21. **Timæus.**—One of Plato's own books.

P. 106, l. 34. **The example of Christ.**—'Medicine is a most noble art and according to the poets has a most illustrious pedigree. For they have represented Apollo as the primary god of medicine, and given him a son *Æsculapius*, likewise a god, professor of the same. . . . But a far greater honour accrues to medicine from the works of our Saviour who was the physican both of soul and body, and as He made the soul the peculiar object of His heavenly doctrine, so He made the body the peculiar object of His miracles.' ('De Augmentis,' IV. ii.)

P. 107, l. 15. **Finis et scopus, &c.**—'The end and scope which laws should have in view, and to which they should direct their decrees and sanctions, is no other than the happiness of the citizens. And this will be effected if the people be rightly trained in piety and religion, sound in morality, protected by arms against foreign enemies, guarded by the shield of the laws against civil discords and private injuries, obedient to the government and the magistrates, and rich and flourishing in forces and wealth.' (Id. VIII. iii., Aph. 5.)

P. 107, l. 31. **Preamble.**—A preliminary statement of the reasons for a law. Acts passed by the English Parliament in the present day have no preambles.

P. 108, l. 12. **Neque nobis, &c.**—'Nor should I at all approve of the preambles of laws which were formerly deemed impertinent, and which

represent laws disputing and not commanding, if we could endure the ancient manners. . . . But avoid preambles as much as possible and let the law begin with the enactment.' ('De Augmentis,' VIII. iii., Aph. 69.)

P. 108, l. 20. **The Critias.**—Plato represents Socrates and his friends meeting the day after the conversations recorded in the 'Republic.' Socrates says that he is hardly satisfied with his ideal state and would like to see how his citizens would bear themselves in a crisis. He asks his friends to help him to exhibit it playing a noble part in history. Then Critias tells an old-world story handed down in his family, showing how a vast army sent out from the island of Atlantis was defeated. This was, of course, in Bacon's mind, when he called his own philosophical romance the 'New Atlantis.'

P. 108, l. 24. **Solomon's House.**—In the 'New Atlantis' Bacon tells how a company sailing in the Southern Seas came to the unknown island of Bensalem, peopled by a great and highly civilised nation. 'There reigned in this island about nineteen hundred years ago a king whose memory of all others we most adore. . . . His name was Salomona, and we esteem him as the law-giver of our nation. . . . Amongst the excellent acts of that king one above all hath the pre-eminence. It was the erection and the institution of an order or society which we call Solomon's House, the noblest foundation (as we think) that ever was on earth. It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God. Some think it beareth the founder's name a little corrupted, as if it should be called Solamona's House. But the records write it as it is spoken. So I take it to be denominate of the king of the Hebrews. . . .

'The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes, the secret motions of things, and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire to the effecting of all things possible. . . .

'I will not hold you long with recounting of our brew house, bake houses and kitchens. . . .

'We have dispensatories or shops of medicines. . . .

'We have also perfume houses wherewith we join also products of taste. . . .

'For the several employments and offices of our fellows we have twelve that sail into foreign countries . . . who bring us the books and abstracts and patterns of experiments of all other parts. These we call Merchants of Light.

'We have three who collect the experiments which are in all books. These we call Depredators. . . .

'We have three that try new experiments such as themselves think good. These we call Pioneers or Miners. . . .

'Then after divers meetings and consults of our whole number to consider of the former labours and collections, we have three that take care, out of them, to direct new experiments of a higher light, more penetrating into nature than the former. These we call Lamps.' (Spedding, 'Works,' III. 144, 156, 159, 160, 163, 164.)

P. 109, l. 6. **Volans, &c.**—

‘Chafed by the speed it [the arrow] fired, and as it flew
 A trail of following flames ascending drew ;
 Kindling they mount and mark the shiny way
 Across the skies [as following meteors play
 And vanish into wind or in a blaze decay.]’

(Dryden’s ‘Æneid,’ V.)

P. 109, l. 11. **The white.**—The middle of the target (which was formerly painted white).

‘The Douglas bent a bow of might,
 His first shaft centred in the white.’

(Scott, ‘Lady of the Lake,’ V. xxii.)

P. 109, l. 33. **Utopia.**—Sir Thomas More’s fabled ideal land.

P. 110, l. 4. **Ancient sages . . . toothache.**

‘There was never yet philosopher
 That could endure the toothache patiently.’

(‘Much Ado,’ V. i. 36–7.)

P. 110, l. 13. **Epictetus.**—A Stoic philosopher who flourished at Rome in the first century of the Christian era. He wrote nothing. His beautiful moral manual ‘the Enchiridion’ was drawn up from a disciple’s notes. He and Seneca are coupled by Macaulay as ‘friends’ of the philosophers. As foes he couples the Roman satirist Juvenal (born 42 A.D.) and the Greek satirist Lucian (born about 120 A.D.).

P. 110, l. 28. **An abject superstition.**—Proclus (412 A.D.–485) was practically the last great scholar of the New Academy. ‘His sagacious mind explored the deepest questions of morals and metaphysics, and he ventured to urge eighteen arguments against the Christian doctrine of the creation of the world. But in the intervals of study he personally conversed with Pan, Æsculapius, and Minerva, in whose mysteries he was secretly initiated, and whose prostrate statues he adored, in the devout persuasion that the philosopher who is a citizen of the universe should be the priest of its various deities. . . . His life . . . exhibits a deplorable picture of the second childhood of human reason.’ (Gibbon, ‘Decline and Fall,’ IV. 354.)

P. 110, l. 29. **Anaxagoras.**—A Greek philosopher born about 500 B.C. Sprung of a noble family in Asia Minor, he gave up his property and went to Athens to devote himself to study. He gave philosophy a home at Athens, where it flourished for a thousand years. His doctrine of a spiritual principle was embodied in a work ‘On Nature,’ of which only fragments remain.

P. 111, l. 13. **Libanius.**—A Sophist born in Antioch in 314 A.D., greatly admired by the Emperor Julian. ‘When Julian ascended the throne, he declared his impatience to embrace and reward the Syrian

Sophist, who had preserved, in a degenerate age, the Grecian purity of taste, of manners, and of religion. The emperor's prepossession was increased and justified by the discreet pride of his favourite. Instead of pressing, with the foremost of the crowd, into the palace of Constantinople, Libanius calmly expected his arrival at Antioch; withdrew from court on the first symptoms of coldness and indifference; required a formal invitation for each visit; and taught his sovereign an important lesson, that he might command the obedience of a subject but that he must deserve the attachment of a friend. The Sophists of every age, despising, or affecting to despise, the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune, reserve their esteem for the superior qualities of the mind, with which they themselves are so plentifully endowed. Julian might disdain the acclamations of a venal court, who adored the imperial purple; but he was deeply flattered by the praise, the admonition, the freedom, and the envy of an independent philosopher, who refused his favours, loved his person, celebrated his fame, and protected his memory. The voluminous writings of Libanius still exist: for the most part, they are the vain and idle compositions of an orator, who cultivated the science of words; the productions of a recluse student, whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war, and the Athenian commonwealth. . . . Libanius experienced the peculiar misfortune of surviving the religion and the sciences to which he had consecrated his genius. The friend of Julian was an indignant spectator of the triumph of Christianity; and his bigotry, which darkened the prospect of the visible world, did not inspire Libanius with any lively hopes of celestial glory and happiness.' (Gibbon, 'Decline and Fall,' III. 9.)

P. 111, l. 13. **Pericles**.—Died in 429 B.C., after having been for forty years at the head of affairs in Athens in the palmy days of Greece.

P. 111, l. 14. **Julian** (331 A.D.—363).—Emperor, nephew of Constantine the Great; called the Apostate because he renounced the Christian religion.

P. 111, ll. 10–16. **Look at the schools**.—On this passage Mr. Morison says: 'It is difficult to handle the sciolism implied in such remarks and such a question. What had occurred between the dates specified—those of Pericles and Julian? Only the conquest of the world by the Romans, the rise and fall of the Roman Republic and Empire, the invasion of the barbarians, and the proximate dissolution of society. This is to count for nothing. The greatest revolution in human annals—the death throes, in short, of the old world—could not be expected to influence the course and value of speculation! The thing to notice was that Libanius was inferior to Plato, and Julian to Pericles, and that settled the point that the ancient philosophy was nothing but cant and hypocrisy.' (Morison's 'Macaulay,' 103.)

P. 111, l. 17. **Justinian** (483 A.D.—565).—Succeeded as emperor of the east his uncle, who had raised himself from a peasant's hut to the

throne. His memory is always associated with the famous code of laws which he caused to be formed.

P. 111, l. 17. **Closed the schools.**—‘The Gothic arms were less fatal to the schools of Athens than the establishment of a new religion whose ministers superseded the exercise of reason, resolved every question by an article of faith, and condemned the infidel or sceptic to eternal flames. In many a volume of laborious controversy they exposed the weakness of the understanding and the corruption of the heart, insulted human nature in the sages of antiquity, and proscribed the spirit of philosophical inquiry, so repugnant to the doctrine, or at least to the temper, of an humble believer. The surviving sect of the Platonists, whom Plato would have blushed to acknowledge, extravagantly mingled a sublime theory with the practice of superstition and magic; and, as they remained alone in the midst of a Christian world, they indulged a secret rancour against the government of the church and state, whose severity was still suspended over their heads. . . . Yet the golden chain, as it was fondly styled, of the Platonic succession continued forty-four years from the death of Proclus to the edict of Justinian, which imposed a perpetual silence on the schools of Athens, and excited the grief and indignation of the few remaining votaries of Grecian science and superstition. Seven friends and philosophers, Diogenes and Hermias, Eulalius and Priscian, Damascius, Isidore, and Simplicius, who dissented from the religion of their sovereign, embraced the resolution of seeking in a foreign land the freedom which was denied in their native country.’ (Gibbon, ‘Decline and Fall,’ IV. 353.)

The schools were closed in 529.

P. 111, l. 22. **Protagoras and Hippias.**—Philosophers who flourished in the days of Socrates.

P. 111, l. 33. **Simplicius and Isidore.**—See the closing lines of the extract from Gibbon, under note to p. 111, l. 17, *Closed the schools*.

P. 112, l. 15. **Knots.**—The rate of a ship’s sailing was formerly ascertained by throwing out a log with a line attached having marks called knots on it. The distance between two knots bore the same proportion to a nautical mile as a given unit of time did to an hour. The number of knots running out during the unit therefore indicated the rate per hour, in speaking of which *knot* is synonymous with *nautical mile* [a nautical mile : statute mile :: 6075·6 : 5280—roughly as 7 : 6].

P. 112, l. 29. **De Finibus.**—A favourite topic of philosophical discussion (concerning the ends or aims of life), and the title of one of Cicero’s works.

P. 113, l. 1. **Conceits.**—In this particular sense the word is derived from the Italian *concetto*, and means a fanciful, ingenious, or witty notion or expression. It is now applied disparagingly to a strained or far-fetched turn of thought, figure, &c.; an affectation of thought or style.

‘The Greeks had no conceits; they did not call the waves “nodding

hearse-plumes," or laburnums "dropping wells of fire." (Symonds, 'Greek Poets,' X. 324.)

P. 113, l. 1. **Syllogisms.**—See note to p. 118, l. 13.

P. 113, l. 2. **Chrysippus.**—A Stoic philosopher who is said to have written three hundred works on logic! He was such an adept in disputation that he used to boast: 'Give me doctrines and I will find arguments to support them.'

P. 113, l. 7. Ἀποπροηγμένα, *Apoproēgmena*. Things relatively evil.

P. 113, l. 9. Ἀδιάφορα, *Adiaphora*. Indifferent things. These are technical terms in the Stoic philosophy.

P. 113, l. 12. Ἰδιώτης, *Idiōtēs*. A private person, one in a private station, one who has no professional knowledge, a 'layman,' an ill-informed, ordinary fellow. 'Often a people's use of some single word will afford us a deeper insight into their real condition, their habits of thought and feeling, than whole volumes written expressly with the intention of imparting this insight. Thus *idiot*, a Greek word, is abundantly characteristic of Greek life. The idiot, or *ιδιώτης*, was originally the private man, as contradistinguished from one clothed with office, and taking his share in the management of public affairs. In this, its primary sense, it was often used in the English of the seventeenth century; as when Jeremy Taylor says: "Humility is a duty in great ones, as well as in *idiots*." It came then to signify a rude, ignorant, unskilled, intellectually unexercised person, a boor; this derived or secondary sense bearing witness to a conviction woven deep into the Greek mind that contact with public life was indispensable even to the right development of the intellect, a conviction which could scarcely have uttered itself with greater clearness than it does in this secondary use of *idiot*. Our tertiary, in which the *idiot* is one deficient in intellect, not merely with its powers unexercised, is but this secondary pushed a little farther.' (Trench, 'The Study of Words,' 107.)

P. 114, l. 4. Πρὸς τοὺς τὴν ἀπορίαν δεδουκότας, *Pros tous tēn aporian dedoikotas*.—To those who fear want—the last chapter in Book III. of the 'Discourses of Epictetus.'

P. 114, l. 36. **Cogitavit, &c.**—Bacon thought the opinion or estimation to be humid and hurtful [see Macaulay's footnote], that the majesty of the mind was diminished if it turned its attention long to experiments dealing with sensible objects, and terminating in matter, especially since things of this kind are wont to seem laborious for inquiry, ignoble for thought, rough for learning, base for practice, infinite in number, wanting in subtlety, and for these reasons less suited to the glory of the arts.

P. 115, l. 8. **Omnia . . . turbasse.**—To have troubled all things in the human family.

P. 115, l. 26. **He . . . declares.**—He says: 'It may be asked . . . whether I speak of natural philosophy only or whether I mean that the other sciences, logic, ethics, and politics, should be carried on by this method. Now I certainly mean what I have said to be understood of them all; and as the common logic which governs by the syllogism extends not only to natural but to all sciences, so does mine also, which proceeds by induction, embrace everything.' ('Novum Organum,' I., Aph. cxxvii.)

P. 116, l. 4. **The Georgics of the mind.**—In ending the seventh book of the 'De Augmentis,' Bacon says: 'Here then I conclude this part of moral knowledge concerning the Georgics of the mind,'—alluding, of course, to Virgil's 'Georgics' of the cultivation of the ground.

P. 116, l. 7. **He desired.**—'Here then I conclude this part of moral knowledge concerning the Georgics of the mind, wherein if any man, from viewing the parts thereof which I have enumerated, judge that my labour is but to collect into an art or science that which has been omitted by other writers as matter of common sense and experience, and sufficiently clear and self-evident, he is welcome to his opinion; but in the meanwhile let him remember that I am in pursuit, as I said at first, not of beauty but of utility and truth: and let him withal call to mind the ancient parable of the two gates of sleep:

'Sunt geminæ Somni portæ, quarum altera fertur
Cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris;
Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
Sed falsa ad cælum mittunt insomnia Manes.'

(Virgil, 'Æn.' VI. 894.)

['Two gates the entrance of Sleep's house adorn,
Of ivory one, the other simple horn:
Through horn a crowd of real visions streams,
Through ivory portals pass delusive dreams.']

(Spedding, 'Works,' V. 29.)

P. 116, l. 16. **Bolingbroke.**—Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751) was in exile for his Jacobite views from the accession of George I. till 1723. In his 'Reflexions upon Exile' he tries to find consolation in thoughts copied from Seneca.

P. 116, l. 18. **Tullia.**—The daughter of Cicero, who was inconsolable for her death.

P. 116, l. 21. **Escobar.**—Antonio Escobar y Mendoza (1589-1669), a famous Jesuit casuist, author of 'Cases of Conscience.' This was attacked by Pascal in his 'Lettres Provinciales' and gave rise in France to the noun *escobarderie* (equivocation).

P. 116, l. 21. **The four beasts.**—'And round about the throne were four and twenty seats, and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders

sitting . . . and in the midst of the throne . . . were four beasts.' (Revelation, IV. 4-6.)

P. 116, l. 23. **Inanes . . . futils.**—'Treatises on matters of this kind which do not savour of experience, but are only drawn from a general scholastic knowledge of the subject, *are for the most part empty and unprofitable.*' ('De Augmentis,' VII. ii.)

P. 116, l. 29. **Tartarus.**—The Greek hell.

P. 116, l. 29. **To spin.**—Ixion for boasting of favours which he had not received from a goddess was condemned to be fastened to a wheel on which he was to turn for ever.

P. 116, l. 30. **To gape.**—Tantalus, for a crime which is variously stated in the various versions of the myth, was condemned to suffer eternal thirst and hunger while immersed in water up to his chin and having clusters of ripe fruit hanging just out of reach. Whenever he tried to drink the water it dried up, and whenever he tried to eat the fruit it vanished.

P. 116, l. 31. **To pour water.**—The Danaides, the fifty daughters of Danaus, were ordered by him to kill their husbands. Forty-nine obeyed and for their crime were condemned to fill with water vessels the bottoms of which were pierced with holes.

P. 116, l. 33. **Recoiling stone.**—Sisyphus was condemned to keep on for ever rolling a block of stone to the top of a steep hill, only to see it tumble down again. Homer calls him the 'slyest of all men,' but does not state the reason for his punishment, and later writers differ on the subject.

P. 117, l. 3. **He said.**—The chapter which Macaulay summarises is headed 'The Division of the doctrine concerning the culture of the mind into the doctrine concerning the characteristics of the mind, the affections, and the remedies or cures.'

P. 117, l. 27. **Homoousians.**—Christendom was long vexed by discords over a diphthong which were settled at the Council of Nice in 325 by the triumph of the Homoousians, who asserted that the second person of the Trinity is of the same (*ὁμός, homós*) substance as the first, over the Homoiousians, who asserted that He has a like (*ὁμοῖος, homoios*) substance.

P. 117, l. 27. **Monothelites.**—A sect in the seventh century that maintained Christ had but one will in two natures (*μόνος, monos*, alone, *θέλησις, thelēsis*, will).

P. 117, l. 27. **Nestorians.**—A sect in the fifth century which maintained that Christ had not only two natures but two persons.

P. 117, l. 33. **Final perseverance.**—The 'continuance of the saints in a state of grace to a state of glory.' The Calvinists believed

that all the elect of God were brought to a knowledge of the truth and persevered in it to eternal life. The Arminians, on the other hand, believed that it was possible to fall from a state of grace.

P. 117, l. 35. **Calvinist.**—A believer in the views held by John Calvin (1509–1564). These, so far as they relate to theology, are summarised as ‘five points’: (1) Particular election; (2) Particular redemption; (3) Moral inability in a fallen state; (4) Irresistible grace; (5) Final perseverance.

P. 117, l. 36. **Arminian.**—A believer in the views held by James Arminius (1560–1609), who dissented from the views of Calvin. The tenets of Arminius were also summed up in ‘five points’: (1) God from all eternity predestined the salvation of those whose permanent faith in Christ He foresaw; (2) Christ died for all mankind and not for the elect alone; (3) Man requires regeneration by the Holy Spirit; (4) He may resist divine grace; (5) He may fall from it. The Synod of Dort decided in favour of Calvin on all these points.

P. 118, l. 2. **Allworthy.**—An enlightened and benevolent squire in Fielding’s ‘Tom Jones.’ Square the philosopher and Thwackum the divine frequently met at his table, and never met without engaging in bitter arguments on ethics and theology.

P. 118, l. 13. **Induction.**—The deductive method of reasoning was established and perfected by Aristotle. The schools regarded it with almost superstitious reverence, and it remained (with diminished force) down to the time of Bacon as the method of arriving at new truths. Its essence is the syllogism, a combination of two propositions necessitating a third by virtue of their mutual connection. The first proposition is called the Major Premiss, the second the Minor Premiss, and the third the Conclusion. The following is an example of a Syllogism:

Major Premiss : All men are black.

Minor Premiss : Pompey is a man.

Conclusion : Therefore Pompey is black.

It is obvious that if the premisses are true, the truth of the conclusion follows inevitably. We know in this instance, that though the conclusion may be true, its truth does not follow from the premisses, because we also know that the major premiss is false, and the weakness of the Aristotelian method was that it did not take pains to verify its major premisses—in other words, that he did not employ induction. To suppose that one of the giant intellects of the world did not use a method which the veriest clown uses in his daily affairs is absurd, but the philosopher’s induction was the same in kind as the clown’s, and (in spite of what Macaulay may say) the great merit of Bacon is that he was the first to urge convincingly the absolute need of scientific (as distinct from ordinary) induction and to formulate elaborate rules for making it. His method was faulty, but his successors could not have improved upon it till he had formulated it.

The method of scientific induction cannot be fully explained in a Note, but its indispensable steps are :

- (1) The observation of facts ;
- (2) The formation of a hypothesis which may account for them ;
- (3) The taking of this hypothesis as a major premiss and reasoning out conclusions from it ;
- (4) The testing of these conclusions by experiments, &c. ;
- (5) The correction (if necessary) of the original hypothesis.

P. 118, l. 16. **Virgil was a great conjurer.**—Even under the Roman empire people practised the *Sortes Virgilianæ*—the discovery of their fortunes by selecting passages at random from the works of the poet ; some of his lines were actually introduced into the early Christian liturgies ; and as an embodiment of enlightened reason he is the guide of Dante to the nether world. His popular reputation as a magician therefore had congenial soil in which to grow. The legend seems to have started in Naples. There a model of the city enclosed in a narrow-necked bottle, and the statue of an archer pointing at Vesuvius and preventing its eruptions, were said to be his work. The feats ascribed to him are innumerable. For example, it is narrated how Virgil, finding the devil imprisoned in a bottle, released him after learning all his magic arts ; how he made a figure, the sight of which ensured the virtue of women, and how his wife and other Roman ladies tried in vain to break it, &c.

P. 119, l. 5. **We are all doing.**—‘ In answer to this it must be said, in the first place, that the Essayist has scarcely done justice to the strictness and elaborateness of the Baconian Induction, and to the necessity for such strictness, if it is to be worth anything ; and, in the second place, that he has exaggerated the inductive activity of average people when he speaks of even such an induction as he describes as being “ what we are all doing from morning to night.” The Inductive process of Macaulay’s “ plain man ” is far above the level of most “ plain men ” : but, even as it is, it is far below the level of the Baconian Induction. If one is to follow up Lord Macaulay’s illustration, other causes besides the brandy may have been at work to produce the indigestion which the invalid attributes to the mincepies—cucumber, for example, or salmon ; or the dinner may have been badly cooked ; or the invalid may have dined under the depressing influence of bad news, or in a hurry. Therefore it will be necessary for the Baconian inductor to perform two classes of quite distinct experiments. In the first of these he will continue to eat mincepies, but on each occasion will reject some one kind of food that might be suspected of having produced the indigestion : on Monday, for instance, he will dine as before, only no salmon ; on Tuesday, as before, only no cucumber ; on Wednesday, as before, only no brandy ; and so on. If in each case he still feels indigestion after dinner, he will be led to the belief that salmon alone was not the cause of it, nor was cucumber, nor was brandy. But, although no one of these three things in itself may produce indigestion, the combination of any one with any other may. Therefore, continuing this class of experiments, he must, while always continuing to eat mincepies, discontinue the combina-

tion of those other three things taken two and two together; and then, if he still feels ill, he must admit that there is some other cause for his illness beside the combinations of these things in pairs. Lastly, although these three things taken singly and in pairs do not disagree with him, yet taken all together, they may: he must therefore, while continuing to eat mincepies, discontinue the other three things, and then, if he still feels ill, he is led to infer that these three things have nothing to do with his illness: and by an anticipation of the mind, as Bacon called it, the experimenter may perhaps leap to the conclusion that the mincepies are the cause of his indigestion.

‘But it is but a leap, not a regular ascent. The Inductor is by no means certain yet that he has arrived at the real cause. For beside those three prominent claimants mentioned in the last paragraph, there may be a host of other latent antecedents, any one of which, or combination of which, may have made him ill. Therefore now he must try a second and quite distinct class of experiments, in each of which he must omit the mincepies. With this omission, he must dine in all respects, as far as possible, as he dined on the days when he was ill. To make sure that he is not omitting some latent antecedent, he must try several of these dinners: he must dine after walking home and after riding home, after good news and after bad news, in a hurry and at leisure, and with many other varying circumstances, but always omitting mincepies. This class of experiments is the Night’s egg out of which Cupid is to spring. And now indeed, after several experiments of this second class, assimilating his dining in all respects to the dining on the days when he was ill, with the single exception that he eats no mincepies, if he finds that in no case does he suffer indigestion, this will be a strong proof that the mincepies were the cause: and, if he could be certain that he had reproduced all the antecedents of those invalid days—all, that is, except the mincepies—and yet no indigestion followed, then the proof would not be strong but certain. He would absolutely know that the mincepies, and nothing else, had caused his indigestion. And this positive knowledge would have proceeded out of negative knowledge. It would be light out of darkness, Cupid springing from Night’s egg.

‘Now to maintain, as Lord Macaulay does, that “plain men” reason in this way, and that there is nothing uncommon in this kind of Induction, is to assume a very high standard of intelligence indeed. True, as soon as the New Induction is described, we feel it to be natural and obvious. Like the spiteful friars crying down the discovery of Columbus, any one of us can make the egg stand on its end when Columbus has shown us the way. But if it be true that this complete kind of Induction has not been described by Aristotle, nor by later authors, then it seems hard to deny to Bacon the credit of having given shape and living force to the Logic of Common Sense, simply because it was the Logic at which Common Sense had been for many ages blindly aiming without coming very near the mark. Because Bacon and Aristotle use the same term Induction therefore it has been most unfairly assumed that Bacon has invented nothing new. But the two inductions are, for practical purposes,

entirely different. The Old Induction was content with observation, the New encourages experiment; the Old Induction by Enumeration is notoriously as a rule useless, sometimes misleading; the New Induction often leads easily right, and, if cautiously and scientifically used, cannot lead wrong; the Old encourages indolence and servile deference to authority, the New stimulates independent thought and research; the two methods differ in nature, differ in results: why then should they be called the same, in defiance of Bacon's protest that they are entirely different? But, in fact, to accuse the rules of the New Induction of being old, as old as the existence of the human mind, is the highest compliment that its author could desire, and amounts in reality to no more than saying with him, Certainly they are quite new, totally new in their very kind, and yet they are copies from a very ancient model, even the world itself and the nature of things.' (Dr. Abbott, 'Bacon's Essays,' I. lxxv.-lxxviii.)

P. 119, l. 13. **Comparentia . . . convenientium.**—Presenting agreeing instances to the understanding. These and the other terms used by Macaulay are the technical names given by Bacon to various steps in his process of induction.

P. 119, l. 15. **Comparentia . . . privantur.**—Presentation of instances in proximity where the given nature is absent.

P. 119, l. 20. **Comparentia . . . minus.**—Presentation of instances in which the nature under inquiry is found in different degrees, more or less.

P. 119, l. 23. **Rejectio naturarum.**—The rejection of the several natures which are not found in some instances where the given nature is present or are found where the given nature is absent, or are found to increase in some instances when the given nature decreases or to decrease when the given nature increases.

P. 119, l. 24. **Vindemiatio.**—The vintage, the fruit, the conclusion of the investigation. Bacon speaks of the Vindemiatio prima, the first or working hypothesis, which, of course, is not established till it has been put to the test of deduction and experiment.

P. 119, l. 31. **William Tell.**—The legendary hero of the Swiss struggle for independence.

P. 119, l. 34. **Captain Barclay.**—Captain Robert Barclay Allardice (1779-1854). A famous pedestrian who performed such feats as walking ninety miles in twenty hours, three hundred miles in five hot days, and a mile in each of one thousand successive hours.

P. 119, l. 37. **Monsieur Jourdain.**—The citizen turned gentleman in Molière's comedy 'Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme.' He takes lessons from many masters, among them a master of philosophy, who shows him the position of the organs in pronouncing the various letters.

Jourdain is delighted and breaks out into such exclamations as 'Ah ! les belles choses !' 'Ah ! l'habile homme que vous êtes ! et que j'ai perdu de temps !' (II. vi.)

P. 120, l. 7. **Will and shall.**—In the Celtic languages the future is formed by inflection. In Welsh, for instance, the future of *ysgrifenu*, to write, is *ysgrifenuaf*, I shall or will write. It is therefore easy to understand that a Celt, to whom English is a foreign tongue, may have difficulty in detecting the minute difference of meaning between *I shall write* and *I will write*. But the curious fact may be noted in Wales, Ireland and Scotland that Celts who speak English only, and their non-Celtic neighbours often have the same difficulty. That the Frenchman, whose future is formed by inflection, and the German, who has one auxiliary only, should experience it is intelligible.

In the second sentence of the article in the *Review* there was (probably through the carelessness of a Scotch proof reader) a mistake in the use of *will* for *shall*. The article began: 'We return our hearty thanks to Mr. Montagu as well for his very valuable edition of Bacon's works as for the instructive Life of the immortal author contained in the last volume. We have much to say on the subject of this Life and *will* often find ourselves obliged to dissent from the opinions of the biographer.'

P. 120, l. 9. **Doctor Robertson.**—William Robertson (1721-1793), a popular Scotch historian, author of *Histories of Scotland*, of *Charles V.*, and of *America*.

P. 120, l. 11. **In his latest work.**—Robertson's latest work, 'An historical disquisition concerning the knowledge which the ancients had of India,' must, from its subject matter, contain few examples of the future tense. In the first paragraph *will* occurs twice and *shall* three times—in each instance correctly, and it would not be worth while searching through the work for examples of the misuse of either.

P. 120, l. 13. **Metonymy** (from *μετωνυμία*, *metōnumia*, change of name) is a figure of speech by which one word is put for another. Thus in the sentence 'He behaved with respect to the bench and loyalty to the crown,' *bench* is used for the judges, and *crown* for the King.

'Quoth he, "Whatever others deem ye
I understand your metonymy :
Your words of second hand intention
When things by wrongful names you mention,
The mystic sense of all your terms
That are, indeed, but magic charms.'"

(Butler, 'Hudibras,' II. iii. 587-592.)

P. 120, l. 14. **Synecdoche.** (from *συνεκδοχή*, *sunechdochē*, a receiving together) is a figure of speech in which the whole is taken for the part, or the part for the whole; as 'the Roman world' for 'the Roman Empire'; 'a sail' for 'a ship.'

P. 120, l. 17. **Trope** (τρόπος, *tropos*, a turn).—A figure of speech, a turning of a word from its literal meaning. The four primary tropes were metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony.

P. 120, l. 19. **Forming an orator.**

‘For rhetoric, he could not ope
His mouth but out there flew a trope;
And when he happened to break off
In th’ middle of his speech, or cough,
H’ had hard words ready to show why,
And tell what rules he did it by;
Else, when with greatest art he spoke
You’d think he talk’d like other folk:
For all a rhetorician’s rules
Teach nothing but to name his tools.’

(Butler, ‘Hudibras,’ I. i. 81–90.)

P. 120, l. 19. **Ego hanc, &c.**—‘I consider that with regard to all precepts the case is this—not that orators have obtained distinction in eloquence by following them, but that certain persons, having noticed that men of eloquence followed them spontaneously (or unconsciously), formed rules accordingly, so that eloquence has not sprung from art but art from eloquence.’ (‘De Oratore,’ I. xxxii.)

P. 120, l. 27. **Celarent and cesare.**—In logic the letters A E I and O are used symbolically, and to a logician the combination AAA would represent a certain mode or ‘mood’ of the syllogism. Nineteen such combinations represent the valid and useful moods, and to facilitate the remembering of these, arbitrary words were made up containing the three vowels in the proper order, and these words were combined into phrases beginning,

Barbara, Celarent, Darii, Ferioque, prioris.

Cesare, Camestres, Festino, Baroko, secundæ.

Celarent (EAE) signifies the mood of the first figure, which has E for the major premiss, A for the minor, and E for the conclusion.

P. 120, l. 28. **Ignoratio elenchi.**—Among the classes into which Aristotle divided fallacies is the *ignoratio elenchi* (literally, ignorance of the refutation), or irrelevant conclusion. It is the fallacy of arguing besides the mark, and answering what is not the point,—of answering, for instance, the charge that Charles I. was a bad king by proving that he was a good father.

P. 120, l. 31. **Mode and figure.**—See note to p. 120, l. 27.

P. 120, l. 33. **Organum.**—The general name for Aristotle’s writings on logic. Bacon naturally called his writings, enunciating a new method of arriving at truth, the ‘Novum Organum.’

P. 121, l. 9. **Franklin**.—Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), the American philosopher and statesman. His services in both capacities were summed up by Turgot in one bold line :

Eripuit cœlo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis.

(He snatched the lightning from heaven and the sceptre from tyrants.)

P. 121, l. 11. **Animal magnetism**.—Frederick Mesmer (1734–1815), a German physician, began by using the magnet as a curative agent, applying it to the affected parts. He then professed that the same results could be obtained by the application of his hands, as he possessed a power which he called animal magnetism, and which others after him called mesmerism. He lived for some time in a blaze of notoriety, but died in obscurity and disgrace. There was some science mingled with his quackery, and who will venture to deny that there is some quackery mingled with the science of his successors, the hypnotists ?

P. 121, l. 18. **Jacobinism**.—The violent opponents of the Government at the end of the eighteenth century were sometimes reviled as Jacobins, because their views were held to agree with the views of the French revolutionary party of the same name. This name was derived from the headquarters of the party, the Hall of the Jacobin Friars in the Rue St. Jacques, Paris.

P. 121, ll. 20–22. **Charles James Fox** (1749–1806), the great Whig statesman ; **Richard Brinsley Sheridan** (1751–1816), the author of the ‘School for Scandal,’ &c., who could not be fairly accused of holding extreme views ; **John Horne Tooke** (1736–1812), who began life as John Horne ; **John Philpot Curran** (1750–1817), the wittiest of Irish barristers ; **Samuel Taylor Coleridge** (1772–1834), who in his youth thought that he sympathised with the French ; **Theobald Wolfe Tone** (1763–1798), who lost his life in trying to achieve the independence of Ireland.

P. 121, l. 24. **William Pitt** (1759–1806) ; **John Scott** (1751–1838), Lord Chancellor Eldon ; **William Windham** (1750–1810), one of Pitt’s Ministers ; **Samuel Horsley** (1738–1806), who preached a very impressive sermon before the House of Lords on the revolutionary spirit, and rose to be Bishop of St. Asaph ; **Henry Dundas** (1742–1811), first Viscount Melville, a friend and colleague of Pitt ; **Edmund Burke** (1729–1797).

P. 122, l. 18. **Tom Paine** (1737–1809).—Author of the ‘Rights of Man’ ; held views which might fairly be described as Jacobin.

P. 122, l. 18. **William Wyndham Grenville**, Lord Grenville (1759–1834).

P. 123, l. 32. **Lindley Murray** (1745–1826) was born in Pennsylvania, but spent the second half of his life in England, where he published his Grammar. This owes its fame not so much to its absolute merits as to its superiority over everything that preceded.

P. 123, l. 34. **Archbishop of Dublin.**—Richard Whateley (1787–1863), whose ‘Rhetoric’ and ‘Logic’ were at one time very popular and are still well worth reading.

P. 123, l. 36. **Chillingworth.**—William Chillingworth (1602–1644), a theologian who changed from Anglican to Roman and from Roman to Anglican, and in his ‘Religion of Protestants a safe way of Salvation’ displayed all the resources of logic.

P. 125, l. 5. **Baralipton.**—An arbitrary word made to contain the vowel symbols of the first indirect mode of the first figure of syllogisms.

P. 125, l. 29. **Assensum, &c.**—To conquer assent, not matter or nature.

P. 127, l. 13. **Oriental conqueror.**—Arbaces in Beaumont and Fletcher’s ‘A King and no King.’ He says:

‘Your king shall go so home
As never man went.’

Mardonius asks, ‘Shall he go on’s head?’ and Arbaces answers as in the text.

P. 127, l. 31. **The Mammon and the Surly.**—Sir Epicure Mammon and Pertinax Surly are two characters in Ben Jonson’s play ‘The Alchemist.’ Subtle, the alchemist, knows that his promises are false, but they impose upon Mammon, who thinks that he is going to be rich beyond the dreams of avarice. He says:

‘This night I will change
All that is metal in my house to gold:
And early in the morning will I send
To all the plumbers and the pewterers and to Lothbury
For all the copper
Yes, and I will purchase Devonshire and Cornwall
And make them perfect Indies.’

Surly does not believe in Subtle’s promises and says:

‘That alchemy is a pretty kind of game,
Something like tricks o’ the cards to cheat a man
With charming.’ (II. i.)

P. 128, l. 2. **Labruyère.**—Jean La Bruyère (1645–1696), author of *Caractères de Théophraste*, traduits du Grec, avec les *Caractères ou les Mœurs de ce Siècle*. His translation from the Greek left much to desire, but his minute and accurate drawing of contemporary characters continues to be admired.

P. 128, l. 9. **Paribanou.**—One of the stories in the ‘Arabian Nights.’ The fairy Paribanou presents the Prince Ahmed with a tent which she can hold in the palm of her hand, but which yet will extend till it is large enough to shelter armies.

P. 128, l. 19. '**Round he surveyed.**'—'Paradise Lost,' III. 555–560. Macaulay quoting from memory has made three verbal slips. In the first line *surveyed* should be *surveys*, in the fourth line *which* should be *that*, and in the sixth *the* should be *th*'.

P. 128, l. 22. **Libra.**—Satan could see an entire hemisphere extending through six of the Signs of the Zodiac, that is from Libra to Aries 'the fleecy star.' The 'fleecy star' is said to bear Andromeda because Andromeda lies above Aries in the sky.

P. 129, l. 2. **In a letter.**—This letter has already been quoted. See Note to p. 92, l. 4. See also Notes to p. 138, l. 28 and p. 139, l. 23.

P. 129, l. 11. **Kennington turnpike to Clapham Common.**—These two were a little more than a mile apart on one of the roads leading southward out of London. The turnpike, of course, no longer exists.

P. 129, l. 24. **Franciscus, &c.**—Francis Bacon thought thus. Nearly every subsequent paragraph of the work begins *Cogitavit et illud*.

P. 129, l. 27. **Borgia.**—Roderigo Borgia, Pope Alexander VI. The story is told by Machiavelli ('The Prince,' ch. XII.). It must have struck Bacon's fancy, as he uses it several times.

P. 129, l. 27. **Charles VIII.**—Charles the Affable, King of France from 1483–1498. He invaded Italy in 1494–5. The various governments were utterly unprepared for war and made scarcely any resistance. The march of the French therefore was one long triumph.

P. 130, l. 16. **If by wit be meant.**—Wit means something more than the power of perceiving unsuspected analogies, as is evident from the fact that of the three men to whom Macaulay ascribes this power in a pre-eminent degree, Bacon, Cowley and Butler, only Butler could be described as witty.

P. 130, l. 18. **Cowley.**—Abraham Cowley (1618–1667). A poet of the 'metaphysical' school. The treatment of his style in the 'Lives of the Poets' is among the best of Johnson's critical work.

P. 130, l. 18. **The author of 'Hudibras.'**—Samuel Butler (1612–1680).

P. 131, l. 3. **Philosophia prima.**—The first or mother science. In the second book of the 'Advancement of Learning' Bacon discusses at considerable length the connotation of the term *Philosophia prima*, primitive or summary philosophy. He finally defines it by negatives as 'a receptacle for all such profitable observations and axioms as fall not within the compass of any of the special parts of philosophy or sciences, but are more common and are of a higher stage.' (II. v. 2.)

The term is defined again in the corresponding part of the 'De

Augmentis' (III. i.), and all the illustrations of it which Macaulay quotes are given.

Descartes used *philosophia prima* as synonymous with *metaphysics*. It was an Aristotelian term (ἡ πρώτη σοφία or φιλοσοφία).

P. 131, l. 15. **Antiperistasis**.—Reaction. Aristotle applies this doctrine in the case of heat and cold to explain the formation of hail.

P. 131, l. 16. **The contests of factions**.—His words are 'That the force of an agent is increased by the reaction of a contrary is a rule in physics. The same has wonderful efficacy in politics, since every faction is violently irritated by the encroachment of a contrary faction.'

P. 131, l. 20. **Lalla Rookh**.—As the scene and characters of this poem are Oriental Moore thought far-fetched comparisons in keeping. Hence the word *like* is of frequent occurrence.

P. 131, l. 32. **Bishop Butler**.—Joseph Butler (1692–1752). As an example of 'analogies which are arguments' Macaulay selects Butler's 'Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature.'

P. 131, l. 34. **Which Addison discovered**.—Addison wrote a poem 'To Sir Godfrey Kneller on his picture of the King' (George I.). He says that the artist had painted other kings, just as Phidias before the statue of Jupiter had carved other gods.

'This wonder of the sculptor's hand
Produced, his art was at a stand :
For who would hope new fame to raise
Or risk his well-established praise
That, his high genius to prove,
Had drawn a George or carved a Jove ?'

Macaulay calls this an 'analogy which is a mere illustration,' but Bishop Hurd, Addison's editor, says 'There never was anything happier than this whole illustration nor more exquisitely expressed.'

P. 131, l. 37. **Sir William Temple** (1628–1699).—Statesman and author. His essay on 'Ancient and Modern Learning' started a long controversy, in the course of which Swift (at one time his secretary) wrote the 'Battle of the Books.' Few people will wish to know more of Temple than can be found in Macaulay's Essay on him.

P. 132, l. 1. **Properties of the pyramid**.—In 'An Essay upon the Original Nature of Government' Temple says: 'The safety and firmness of any government may be best judged by the rules of architecture which teach us that the pyramid is of all figures the firmest, and least subject to be shaken or overthrown by any concussions or accidents from the earth or air; and it grows still so much the firmer by how much broader the bottom and sharper the top.' He then proceeds to work out the analogy: 'The ground upon which all government stands is

the consent of the people or the greatest or strongest part of them,' &c. ('Works,' ed. 1720, I. 105.)

P. 132, l. 2. **Mr. Southey's whole system.**—Robert Southey (1774–1843) was in poetry and prose one of the most prolific writers of his day. He was one of the chief contributors to the Tory review, the *Quarterly*, and Macaulay, looking at his views through Whig glasses, could not see them correctly. Southey did not build a whole system of finance on the phenomena of evaporation and rain. In his 'Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society' (1829, I. 182) Sir Thomas More, one of the interlocutors, asks whether the country was 'most impoverished by the extraction or benefited by the distribution' of the interest of the national debt. Montesinos, the other, answers, 'You might as reasonably ask whether the fields are injured by evaporation more than they are refreshed by rain and dew.' Even if Montesinos is expressing Southey's own opinion, it is hardly a system of finance. Macaulay reviewed the 'Colloquies' in the *Edinburgh* for January 1830.

P. 132, l. 5. **Irenæus** (140?–202?), Bishop of Lyons, wrote a long treatise 'Of Heresies.' Only fragments of the original Greek have come down, though the whole exists in a contemporary Latin version.

P. 132, l. 5. **Origen** (185?–253?), an ecclesiastical writer. Of his treatise against Celsus it has been said that all the objections which have been made and all which ever will be made against Christianity are fully refuted beforehand in it.

P. 132, l. 9. **Analogies proper . . . analogies metaphorical.** These are explained in Bishop Berkeley's 'Minute Philosopher,' Dialogue IV., to which Macaulay refers in a footnote. The most relevant part of this dialogue is the following: 'But to prevent any man's being led, by mistaking the scholastic use of the terms *analogy* and *analogical*, into an opinion that we cannot frame in any degree a true and proper notion of attributes applied by analogy, or, in the school phrase, predicated analogically, it may not be amiss to inquire into the true sense and meaning of those words. Everyone knows that analogy is a Greek word used by mathematicians to signify a similitude of proportions. For instance, when we observe that two is to six as three to nine, this similitude or equality of proportion is termed analogy. And although proportion strictly signifies the habitude or relation of one quantity to another, yet, in a looser and translated sense, it hath been applied to signify all similitude of relations, or habitudes whatsoever. Hence the schoolmen tell us, there is analogy between intellect and sight: forasmuch as intellect is to the mind what sight is to the body; and that he who governs the state is analogous to him who steers a ship. Hence a prince is analogically styled a pilot, being to the state as a pilot is to his vessel. For the farther clearing of this point, it is to be observed, that a twofold analogy is distinguished by the schoolmen, metaphorical and proper. Of the first kind there are frequent instances

in Holy Scripture, attributing human parts and passions to God. When He is represented as having a finger, an eye, or an ear; when He is said to repent, to be angry, or grieved; everyone sees that analogy is merely metaphorical. Because those parts and passions, taken in the proper signification, must in every degree necessarily, and from the formal nature of the thing, include imperfection. When, therefore, it is said, the finger of God appears in this or that event, men of common sense mean no more, but that it is as truly ascribed to God, as the works wrought by human fingers are to man: and so of the rest. But the case is different, when wisdom and knowledge are attributed to God. Passions and senses, as such, imply defect: but in knowledge simply, or as such, there is no defect. Knowledge, therefore, in the proper formal meaning of the word, may be attributed to God proportionably, that is, preserving a proportion to the infinite nature of God. We may say, therefore, that as God is infinitely above man, so is the knowledge of God infinitely above the knowledge of man, and this is what Cajetan calls *analogia proprie facta*. And after this same analogy we must understand all those attributes to belong to the Deity, which in themselves simply, and as such, denote perfection. We may, therefore, consistently with what hath been premised, affirm, that all sorts of perfections that we can conceive in a finite spirit are in God, but without any of that alloy which is found in the creatures. This doctrine therefore of analogical perfections in God or our knowing God by analogy, seems very much misunderstood and misapplied by those who would infer from thence that we cannot frame any direct or proper notion, though never so inadequate, of knowledge or wisdom as they are in the Deity, or understand any more of them than one born blind can of light and colours.' ('Works,' ed. 1837, 173.)

P. 133, l. 3. **Auto-da-fé**.—Literally an act of faith, that is the burning of the heretic. In 'Don Quixote' the curate and the barber burn all the knight's books of chivalry and romance.

P. 133, ll. 4, 5. **Aladdin . . . Parizade**.—The stories of Aladdin and Parizade both occur in the 'Arabian Nights.' The first is known in every nursery. In the second Parizade, daughter of the sultan of Persia, is told that her house wants three things to make it perfect, the talking bird, the singing tree, and the gold-coloured water.

P. 133, l. 6. **Ruggiero**.—A Saracen knight in Ariosto's 'Orlando Innamorato' and 'Orlando Furioso.' He possessed a hippogryph, or winged horse, and a shield so bright that it blinded all who looked upon it.

P. 133, l. 7. **Astolfo**.—Another knight in 'Orlando Furioso,' who possessed a horn, book, and lance of magic properties.

P. 133, l. 8. **Fierabras**.—A Saracen knight who made himself master of Rome, and carried thence the crown of thorns which Jesus wore, and the balsam with which He had been anointed. Of this balsam a single drop served to heal the most deadly wound.

P. 133, l. 19. **Merlin**.—A Welsh enchanter. The earliest form of his legend is given by Geoffrey of Monmouth. In later forms Merlin is intimately associated with King Arthur. His Welsh name is Myrddin, and *Caerfyrddin* (Carmarthen) is named after him.

P. 133, l. 19. **Michael Scot** is not legendary, though the magic deeds ascribed to him are. He was a very learned Scotchman who flourished in the thirteenth century, was held in great esteem at the Court of the Emperor Frederick II., translated Avicenna's 'History of Animals' and Aristotle's works into Latin, and himself wrote 'The Secrets of Nature,' &c. (See Scott's notes to his 'Lay of the Last Minstrel'.)

P. 133, l. 28. **Rodomontade**.—A boast like the boasts of Rodomonte in the 'Orlando Furioso.'

P. 133, l. 29. **Sinbad**.—The sailor in the 'Arabian Nights.'

P. 133, l. 29. **Baron Munchausen**.—Baron Munchausen is the hero of incredible adventures in a work said to have been written to ridicule Bruce's Travels.

P. 134, l. 20. **The Case with Bacon**.—Dr. Abbott combats the opinion expressed by Macaulay in this paragraph. 'I do not believe that Lord Macaulay would have come to this conclusion if he had had before him that complete collection of Bacon's works for which these and later times will remain deeply indebted to Mr. Spedding. Bacon's style varied almost as much as his handwriting; but it was influenced more by the subject-matter than by youth or old age. Few men have shown equal versatility in adapting their language to the slightest shade of circumstance and purpose. His style depended upon whether he was addressing a king, or a great nobleman, or a philosopher, or a friend; whether he was composing a State paper, pleading in a State trial, magnifying the Prerogative, extolling Truth, discussing studies, exhorting a judge, sending a New Year's present, or sounding a trumpet to prepare the way for the Kingdom of Man over Nature. It is a mistake to suppose that Bacon was never florid till he grew old. On the contrary, in the early Devices, written during his connection with Essex, he uses a rich exuberant style and poetic rhythm; but he prefers the rhetorical question of appeal to the complex period. On the other hand in all his formal philosophical works, even in the "Advancement of Learning," published as early as 1605, he uses the graver periodic structure, though often illustrated with rich metaphor. The Essays, both early and late, abound in pithy metaphor, as their natural illustration; but in the later and weightier edition—in which they were enlarged not only in number, but also "in weight so that they are indeed a new work"—there is an intentional increase of rhetorical ornament and illustration, and, in some of the later Essays on more serious subjects, there is somewhat more of the periodic structure. But this is caused by the weight of the subject, not by weight of years.' (Abbott, 'Francis Bacon,' 447-8.)

Dr. Abbott then proceeds to give examples of a florid style from Bacon's earlier writings, the 'Device of Essex' and the 'Advancement of

Learning,' and of a plain style from one of his later writings, 'Henry VII.' The student should, if possible, read the whole section, 'Bacon as a writer.'

P. 134, l. 31. **Burke**.—Edmund Burke (1729–1797), the most philosophical of English statesmen. The following are the dates of the works mentioned by Macaulay :

1756. Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful.

1770. Thoughts on the Present Discontents.

1796. Letter to a Noble Lord.

P. 135, l. 16. **He wrote**.—In the Essay 'Of Studies.'

P. 135, l. 31. **Thucydides** (471 B.C.–400 ?), a Greek historian famous for the conciseness and vigour of his style.

P. 135, l. 36. **The following passage**.—From the Essay 'Of Adversity.'

P. 136, l. 25. **Exoteric**.—Some of the Greek philosophers divided their instruction into two parts, *exoteric* and *esoteric*. The first, simple and somewhat superficial, was taught to anybody; the second, difficult and weighty, was taught only to the most intelligent and zealous disciples.

P. 137, l. 18. **Cowley**.—The comparison is made in an ode addressed to the Royal Society. These are some of the lines :—

'From these and all long Errors of the Way,
In which our wandering Predecessors went,
And like th' old Hebrew many years did stray,
In Deserts but of small extent,
Bacon, like Moses, led us forth at last,
The barren wilderness he past,
Did on the very border stand
Of the bless'd promis'd land,
And from the Mountain top of his exalted wit
Saw it himself, and shew'd us it.
But life did never to one man allow
Time to discover worlds, and conquer too;
Nor can so short a Line sufficient be
To fathom the vast depths of Nature's sea:
The work he did we ought t' admire,
And were unjust if we should more require
From his few years, divided twixt th' Excess
Of low affliction, and high Happiness.
For who on things remote can fix his sight,
That's always in a triumph or a fight?'

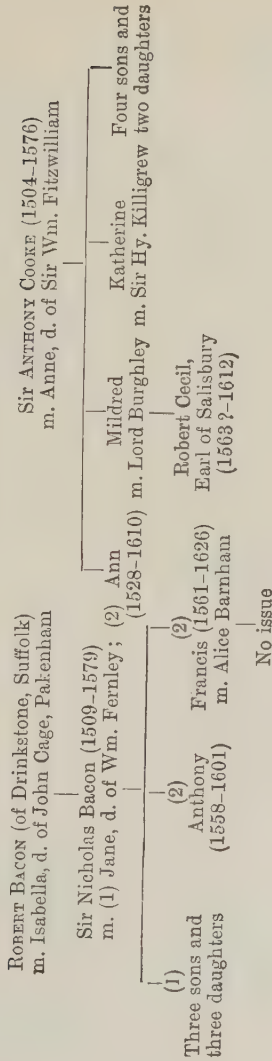
P. 138, l. 1. **Dan to Beersheba**.—A phrase, like our 'John o' Groat's to Land's End,' meaning from the extreme north of the country to the extreme south.

‘Then all the children of Israel went out, and the congregation was gathered together as one man, from Dan even to Beersheba.’ (Judges, XX. 1.)

P. 138, l. 28. } **A letter.**—This has already been twice quoted.
P. 139, l. 23. } See p. 92, l. 4, and p. 129, l. 2.

P. 138, l. 32. **Joshua.**—Not only the Moses who showed the way to the Promised Land, **but** the Joshua who entered and conquered it.

THE FAMILY CONNECTIONS OF BACON.



DATES

YEAR.	OF EVENTS IN BACON'S LIFE.	OF OTHER EVENTS.
1558		Accession of Elizabeth. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper. William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley), Secretary of State.
1561	(Jan. 22) Francis Bacon born.	
1563		(?) Robert Cecil (afterwards Earl of Salisbury) born.
1564		Shakspeare born.
1566		Earl of Essex born.
1572		Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
1573	(April) Entered at Trinity College, Cambridge.	Earl of Southampton born.
1576	Goes to France with Sir Amias Paulet.	
1579	Returns.	(Feb. 20) Sir Nicholas Bacon died.
1582	Admitted 'Utter Barrister,' Gray's Inn.	
1584	M.P. for Melcombe Regis.	
1586	Becomes a Bencher of Gray's Inn. M.P. for Taunton.	
1587		Mary, Queen of Scots, executed. Essex becomes Elizabeth's favourite.
1588	Lent Reader at Gray's Inn. M.P. for Liverpool.	Spanish Armada defeated. Earl of Leicester died.
1589	(Oct. 29) Granted reversion of Clerkship in the Star Chamber.	
1590	(?) Appointed Queen's Counsel Extraordinary.	
1592		George Villiers (afterwards Duke of Buckingham) born.

YEAR.	OF EVENTS IN BACON'S LIFE.	OF OTHER EVENTS.
1593	M.P. for Middlesex. Speaks against subsidies.	
1594	(Jan. 25) First appearance as a pleader in a law court. Sues for the place of Attorney-General.	(March) Coke made Attorney-General.
1595	Sues for office of Solicitor-General. Essex gives him an estate.	(Nov.) Fleming made Solicitor-General.
1596		Expedition of Essex to Cadiz.
1597	M.P. for Ipswich. First edition of the 'Essays.' Wishes to marry Lady Hatton.	
1598	(Sept.) Arrested for debt.	Lord Burghley died. (Nov. 7) Coke married Lady Hatton.
1599		Essex went to Ireland. (Sept. 28) Arrived in London.
1600		(June 6) Examined at York House. (August) Released.
1601		(Feb. 8) Attempt to raise the City. (Feb. 19) Trial. (Feb. 25) Execution. (May) Death of Anthony Bacon.
1603	Returned M.P. for Ipswich and St. Albans. (April 21) Appointment as K.C. renewed. (July 23) Knighted.	(March 24) Death of Elizabeth. Robert Cecil created Earl of Salisbury. Carr (afterwards Earl of Somerset) rising in favour. (Nov. 8) Bodleian Library opened.
1604	Published his 'Apology.' K.C. by patent. (April 18) Pension of £60 a year for life.	
1605	(Oct. ?) 'Advancement of Learning' published.	Gunpowder Plot.
1606	(May 10) Married Alice Barnham.	
1607	(June 25) Made Solicitor-General. 'Cogitata et Visa' finished.	

YEAR.	OF EVENTS IN BACON'S LIFE.	OF OTHER EVENTS.
1608	(July 16) The Clerkship of the Star-Chamber becomes his.	
1609	Argued for the <i>Post nati</i> .	
1610	'De Sapientia Veterum.'	Death of Lady Ann Bacon.
1611		Authorised Version of the Bible published.
1612	Second edition of the 'Essays.'	Death of the Earl of Salisbury.
1613	(after July) Made Attorney-General.	Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.
1614	Returned M.P. for Ipswich, St. Albans, and Cambridge University.	(June 7) Parliament dissolved. Villiers becomes James's favourite.
1615	Intimacy with Villiers begins.	Cases of St. John and Peacham.
1616	(June 9) Made Privy Coun- cillor.	Trial of Overbury's murderers.
1617	(March 7) Made Lord Keeper.	Death of Shakspeare.
1618	(Jan.) Made Lord Chancellor.	
	(July 12) Made Baron Verulam.	Beginning of the Thirty Years' War.
1620		(Oct. 29) Raleigh executed.
		Buckingham married Lady Katherine Manners.
1621	(? Jan.) 'Novum Organum' published.	(Jan. 30) James's third Parliament met.
	(Jan.) Created Viscount St. Alban.	
	(March 15) First Report of the House of Commons implicating him.	
	(April 30) His confession.	
	(May 2) Sentenced.	
1622	'History of Henry VII.' published.	(Jan. 6) Parliament dissolved.
1623	'De Augmentis' published.	Villiers made Duke of Buckingham.
1624	(?) 'New Atlantis' published.	Earl of Southampton died.
	'Apophthegms' published.	
1625	Third edition of the 'Essays.'	(March 27) Death of James I.
		(Aug. 12) Parliament dissolved.
1626	(April 9) Died at Highgate.	(Feb. 6) Parliament meets.
		(May 8) Buckingham impeached.
		(June 11) Parliament dissolved to save him.

HINTS FOR STUDYING THE STYLE OF THE ESSAY

(1) *Words.*

- Are there any uncommon words ?
- Any obsolete words ?
- Any words not strictly classical ?
- Any foreign words or phrases (not quotations) ?
- Could their use be obviated ?

(2) *Sentences.*

- Give examples of short sentences.
- Pick out series of short sentences.
- Could a series of short sentences be combined into one sentence by a change of punctuation ?
- Are the qualifying phrases placed beside the words which they qualify ?
- Could the order of the words in any sentence be altered with advantage ?

(3) *Paragraphs.*

- Is each paragraph complete in itself ? And a logical subdivision of the whole Essay ?
- Is the arrangement of the successive paragraphs logical ?

(4) *Clearness.*

- Macauley wrote a History that working-men could understand [see p. xix.]. Is this Essay equally clear ?
- If so, how is the clearness obtained ?

(5) *General.*

- Give instances of parallel sentences ;
- antithetical sentences ;
- cumulative sentences ;
- over-emphatic sentences ;
- epigrammatic sentences ;
- literary quotations (English or foreign) ;
- literary allusions or illustrations ;
- the use of concrete (or particular) instead of abstract (or general) statements ;
- drawing of characters ;
- 'picture' writing (i.e. description or narrative which the reader can easily imagine as a picture).

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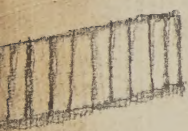
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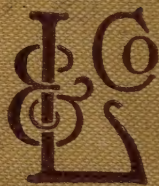
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